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NATURE'S INFLUENCE.

The student of social history, of the rise and progress of people, discovers some facts not altogether pleasant to contemplate, but which ought to be more widely considered by all who are pressing for reform in social affairs. Because their being considered may lead to the prevention of the waste of energy, a better mustering of their forces show where the surest indication of the progress they are making is to be found, and prevent being misled.

History shows us that reforms have had their rise and have been principally forced into practice with and by the people who live in the country, in the villages and hamlets of the rural districts where men are closest in touch with nature; that they have found their principal resistance from those who live in the cities, and that it is in spite of such that the world has progressed; that men who have acquired fame in statesmanship, generalship, art, science, commerce, manufacturing, mechanics, or in any of the professional branches that enter into our social-industrial economics, through the exercise of natural talents, were with rare exceptions, born in the country or rural towns, and their first impressions of life were where their surroundings were the most natural, where nature has been the least disturbed by the artifices of men. Go into any of the great cities of the world to-day and inquire the birthplace of the men who are occupying the prominent positions from the mayor down, or the heads of the great institutions, and we find that rarely the city was their birthplace.

The inference to be drawn from this is that natural surroundings do more in the high development of men than artificial surroundings of the cities. That if the supply of men from the country were cut off from the cities while yet the fullest supply of the products were retained, the cities would decay and finally sink into oblivion for want of men capable of carrying on their affairs. That urban life is degenerative.

Men who were spreading light on the curse of chattel slavery were most severely dealt with in the large cities, and it was finally the political power gathered in the country districts that finally brought the matter to a head and carried it out. So we see to-day the power that is rising to overthrow the corruption in our government, and re-establish it on the principles its founders intended it should maintain, is gathering in the country, in the villages and hamlets, where men are nearest nature and where social distinctions keep them less apart. Ring politicians, the corporations and the monopolies expect and find their main political support in the cities. Yet, in the cities, the advantages for education are said to be better, libraries are numerous, books and papers within the reach of all, and the people of the cities have as much if not more time from their daily occupations to devote in educational lines.

There is certainly a reason for this state of affairs, and to find it out would be a valuable aid in carrying reforms forward. The difference in the conditions surrounding the masses in the country and those in the cities must be the influence that makes the difference in the effects. The people in the cities make far more noise about reforms than their country cousins, and do far less. It is in the cities that our labor organizations have been the most flourishing. They have been the great propagator of long resolutions and petitions, but little practical applications. All this would apparently be to the advantage of progress in the cities, still these conditions have existed away back in the earliest history and have made no changes in the results.

The conditions in the country are the most favorable for independent thought, and it has been independent thought only that has moved the world. While practically all are workers, the proportion that are wage-earners, working under the bosship of another, who directs their powers as he would a machine, is comparatively small. The man who plans the seeding and cultivation of a patch of ground, and the harvesting and marketing of the product, develops talents that are world-moving—far greater than the one who performs mechanical operations on some material, under the direction and bidding of another, and has no occasion to consider the cost of or the final disposition of the product. The countryman will discover economic wrongs that are working to his disadvantage, when the urban cousin believes he is at the very heighth of prosperity, and will not believe different until his wages are suddenly stopped and his stomach begins to demand attention; then, not being used to delving into the whys and wherefores, he quite readily believes the *excuses of his despoilers*, that it was all an accident; that

there will soon be a change for the better, which of course comes, and he gathers himself together again, and again is ground through the same old mill. It is a curious fact, also, that labor unions of the cities always grow and are in a prosperous condition, boasting of their large membership, when business in the cities is said to be good; when the great mass readily find employment; but when reverse conditions come they melt away as the snow before the sun; when distress is at hand, when individuals need the greatest protection, then they can do the least. While in the country organized efforts always grow the fastest, and quickly point out the remedies and proceed toward their practical application in the greatest degree at such times. As it is the mind that moves men, this would indicate that country environments are the best for the development of minds for broad, progressive work. Men's contact with each other has much to do in moulding their character. Men in the city come little in contact with others outside of their class or occupation. In the country these distinctions are less known. Men in villages come in contact constantly with men in all lines of occupation, which is quite as necessary for the proper development of the men in the professions and mercantile pursuits as it is for the manual laborer. Depending solely on others to employ them at stipulated rates of wages, or being professional wage-earners, means surrounded by conditions and environments that is little calculated for the development of independent men. Slaves have never yet freed themselves. The condition of the wage-earners is but a modified form of slavery. Depending on the employment of another, for that which to procure what is necessary to sustain life, has little difference from depending on the master to supply all, and regulate the supply daily. It is certain that there can be but little improvement in social affairs from what now exists, so long as any considerable number are thus caused to maintain life. The very condition breeds helplessness. It brings little of the science of life to men's attention. And when in the cities we organize to mitigate the effects that arise from such conditions, and in the vital make-up of such organizations we recognize the principle on which such conditions rest, we are impliedly aiding their perpetuation. The character of organized effort in the rural districts indicates the difference of the influence working on men's minds. They take, at their very foundation, more of the form of efforts to get direct at the causes, making effects be but guides in such efforts. Compare the Farmers' Alliance with the laborers' unions of the cities, and the difference is readily seen. Count the proportion of the country vote for political reforms, which are but the practical steps

following education, with the like vote of the city, and the difference is seen.

This is not for commendation or condemnation of men as such, but of the environments that make and develop men's characters. Men move in accordance with that. If, therefore, the environments of the country are the most favorable for the development of progressive men, one of the most powerful aids to progress would be that which will make the urban movements as near as possible to what is found in the rural. One most easily reached, and in that line, is the bringing of men in all lines of occupation and thought in contact; the creation of acquaintances, the establishment of confidence between men, where it is now lacking simply because of ignorance of each other. This begets a diversity of thought in men's minds, and that develops a broadening of the view. Such would also bring us nearer to natural conditions, when men associate as equals. Brick and mortar, artificial works of men, are great dividers of men. The distance between the man who goes to his office work in the elevator may not be far from the man in charge of the engine that runs it, but they may never know each other, and it would undoubtedly be to their mutual advantage if they did. The one may go to his association meeting and conspire with others to get the best of men in the other class. The other may go to his union to even up matters. The results are bad for both. The conditions that make them are not natural; they are artificial.

It is not to be wondered at that the minds of both become narrow, and that their energies are expended in building up defenses against each other. And it is most evident they would see no use for such if, instead of avoiding contact with each other and consequent acquaintance, they did the reverse. The illustration will apply to every branch of industry.

The men in the shops and factories must take a practical hand in social affairs, not as the simple tool of another, but through the assertion of self. Conditions that develop the independent man must be striven for, such as nature demands. The condition of being housed between walls of brick and mortar from early morn till night, then into a house away from the world, or if association is found, it be that of men under like conditions, has a stunting rather than a developing effect on men. The working of a garden of their own, active membership in associations for the discussion of living questions in which men of varied occupations and environments enter, all tend to mitigate the baneful effect of the artificial conditions found in cities. It is due to progress that *such be aided.*

AN INDICATION OF THE DAWNING OF A BRIGHTER DAY.

A United States circuit judge lately issued an order restraining the employes of the Northern Pacific from leaving the service of the receiver of that corporation, or, in other words, informed them they must not strike.

From the comments that have arisen over this, one must draw the conclusion that the weight of opinion is that if workmen cannot strike they are absolutely helpless from attacks on such rights as they now enjoy and are generally conceded them, and can never gain such rights as they are now deprived of, and which some have organized to gain and maintain, or, one must draw the conclusion that the principle involved in the struggle of wage-earners, in what is known as the labor problem, has been lost sight of, and workmen are to be considered only as hapless beings subject to some human power outside of themselves, and that the edicts of this power are unchangeable and invincible. It seems to us this matter should have a different consideration than has been generally given it. There has been a conflict going on between man and man for supremacy since man first realized his existence; to gain and maintain an advantage over each other. The equality of rights, the spirit of equity, has rarely been recognized. Even those who were able to throw off oppression, became the worst tyrants over others. Fear that others might rise over them if allowed freedom of action seems to have been the ruling spirit. The golden rule has been the foundation of all systems of morals, but by all of them seems to have been lost sight of in admiration of the structure that was built over it, and in defense of attacks on which the very opposite of the golden rule has been invariably practiced.

Yet nothing seems to have gained what is apparently a permanent place in our social life that has not been attained by a practical following of that rule, and it thus appears should be the spirit that rules the industrial struggle, which is but the struggle of man to rise. It is a struggle of man to rise, not by tearing others down, or by depriving them of any rights they may enjoy, but by gaining rights that are justly theirs. It must stand on the principle that no men or set of men has more natural rights than others, and natural rights means all that any man is entitled to. It is summed up in the one word *equity*.

The struggle, then, is to gain those natural rights that men are deprived of, deprived of by other men. It is man dealing with man. It must be expected, therefore, that every advantage will be taken by those who would keep others from their just due to weaken them. The pressure is from

those who seek; the resistance is from those who have. Physical force has been the principal weapon used, in times past. The slave arose and slew the master, and then became the master to other slaves. The world as a whole was not improved. As a slave they would have the golden rule practiced; as a master it was lost sight of. A constant resistance was necessary to the maintenance of their position—wrong of itself.

Right cannot long stand founded on wrong. It has made life a miserable struggle in the past, and bids fair to continue so for a long time in the future. Instead of peace, it means a menace of a standing army, ready at any moment to destroy all semblance of peace and happiness. It is founded on the theory that might is right. If, therefore, physical force is to be maintained as the weapon of the future, we have anything but a happy legacy to give our posterity; the education and growth of the reasoning powers of man are to count for nothing. What might gained to-day, a greater might may take away to-morrow. This is not what is needed. Nor is it a condition that the producers of the world, who are those who seek right, should endeavor to retain, or make permanent. It is a condition that cannot exist where justice prevails. It is the enemy of all that is good. It is founded in the opposite of the golden rule. Then all who are on this side of the social struggle should hail with delight anything that tends to the use of force in the adjustment of social affairs. Physical force is invariably coupled with tyranny.

The strike, in industrial affairs, partakes of the elements of physical force. Applied, theoretically, to the principles of civil government, it is a civil war, coupled often with the physical sufferings of war. It belongs to the barbaric age. As we become civilized it must disappear, and the powers that civilization gives man take its place. The question now is, have we not gained that standard that it can be dispensed with? That we can apply those powers that intelligence gives, that civilized government makes possible to exercise? If so, then the order of the federal court to the Northern Pacific men need not be considered as in anyway crippling workingmen in their advance. It simply means the drilling in the use of new weapons—in changing the plans of operation.

Corporations, who but take the place of the masters of old, have set the example. They are substituting the powers of civilized government for the physical force the master was wont to use. In this government the workingmen, against whom they act, have all the rights that their opponents have, and have a power that has been laying latent in that government that is far greater than all others combined. Why

need they, then, fear the result? The advantages if any are on their side, if to have an advantage is consistent for those who seek equity.

A quicker result might be obtained by the strike, but is it as lasting? Or is its use as consistent with the principles on which their demands are founded? A change of method, on such lines, demands more from each individual than other methods. Just as do democratic forms of government demand more from the people than monarchies. It calls for the use of brains; it demands the use of their reasoning powers; thinking must be done by each. The many cannot depend on the few to do for them. Increased rights demand increased duties. The ideal state of society will be no place for drones. Lazyness will be unknown. One will have to do as much as another if he has as much as another, including thinking labor as well as manual labor. The thinking part has always proved the most productive and valuable.

If, however, the other conclusion, that workingmen are hapless beings, subject to the will of others, is to be accepted, we must accept all that goes with such a condition. It is stated on the theory that man should be satisfied with the position God has seen fit to place him in, which is just where he finds himself. This takes the matter entirely out of the hands of man. He can exercise none of the functions that the Creator has endowed him with, among which are the powers to want for something better. Still, if because some particular method of attaining those wants is made impossible or impracticable to follow, he is declared helpless, it is equivalent to subjecting him to the will of another; it is practically declaring him an inferior being. The correct view to take of the tendency of the times, which appears to be the using of the civil powers to restrain their physical forces, is that it is, or can be made, most favorable to the producers, the wage-earners; that it is the indication of the dawning of a brighter day, that it is a forerunner of good results, that it is an indication of the harvest from the seed sown in the past generation. It is the bringing of the functions of government to apply to the barbaric struggle that has disgraced the past. It will force workingmen to raise their contests on to a higher and more rational plane where they should be, for man has never had any more important question to deal with; it is in fact, the question of life. It indicates that we are well on the road where the labor problem in the practical application, changes from one involving master and servant to one between man and man. Where charity in her supplications for the "poor workingmen" is lost sight of because no longer needed, and justice and equity is contended for on

efforts to maintain wages and regulate the hours of labor can but result in temporary paliatives; that when conditions come like the present, little can be done on such lines, and even what has been gained is often, in spite of such efforts, quickly lost. The efforts must be directed at the root of the evil. When labor comes fully to the front in doing, and less in demanding of others to do, ruling instead of being ruled, the labor questson will be practically solved. If the Knights of Labor do not succeed in keeping off the people the additional burden plutocracy is seeking to add, it will not be because justice was not on their side, but because the past indifference of the people has allowed the administration of justice to rest in the hands of those who profit by injustice, and the conditions were consequently not favorable; the machinery for riviting the chains being in complete control of the oppressors. Credit at least will be due them for making the attempt, and from the people there will be due that which will not only make such future efforts successful, but unnecessary. The people must be on the watch ahead for vantage ground as their masters have been.

THE WAY TO REFORM IS TO REFORM.

With many people the idea seems to prevail that political reforms can be brought about without disturbing existing things, at least want it to be so done, and while yet professing to want reform. As if a clean political condition was possible while the carrion of past conditions were allowed to remain! And such people seem to think that persons elected with the view of reform should do just as their predecessors have. Abuse hardly expresses what they heap on such persons that try to do just what they were elected to do. Because such persons use the powers that are placed in their hands they would have them driven out of the country.

The venerable governor of Colorado is passing through just such an experience. He was elected on a platform that strikes at the heart of plutocracy; that condemns the past administration of public affairs; that is intended to unsaddle the money power that is sapping the life-blood of the nation. In his canvas before the election he used no honied words in condemning these evils. He flirted none with the powers that be; the people had full opportunity to know his sentiments as well as the platform of the party he represented, and by their votes it was evident it was just such an executive, standing on just such a platform, that they wanted. But there were some who evidently thought a platform was *something* to get in on and to then be laid aside, and they

are doing their best to make the people so believe, and because the governor is still using that platform as the guide for his actions, they cannot do too much to ridicule him.

But if there is to be any future improvement in political affairs, it is going to be brought about alone by men who have the courage to stand by their platform after election as well as before. It is the only time a man can show his courage. It is men that a principle means something to that will put principles into practice, and it is such men that those who wish reform must choose and elect, or there wiil be no use of making an effort. There must be expected a stink when the filth is being thrown out. If you don't want that, don't want for reform. If what is is right, there is no cause for complaint; if it is wrong, then something new must be introduced and tried. It is the one that has got and will introduce it that the people must seek and give the opportunity to act. We cannot retain our idols that have proved false and expect any improvement. As we advance they must be expected to be overthrown, and we will soon be wondering why we ever worshipped them.

The men of a hundred years ago were not perfect, nor did they establish a perfect form of government. They did the very best they could, and left the way open for their posterity to do better. It is our business to do better, even if we have to destroy much of what they created. Men who are at the lead in such work must expect to have the opposition of all the idol-worshippers, and men that place them at the lead must hold up their hands when keeping to the principle intended to be advanced. Someone must be at the lead, and as they come closer to the ideals, the hotter will be the battle. The land kings, the money kings, the railroad kings, and the whole line of modern kings, care nothing about the people's talk for reform, for democratic principles. It is when the people begin to put them into practice that makes them tremble and howl with rage. They have got used to resolutions and petitions praying for relief, and seem to believe that the people should keep right along with such harmless acts. Such temporarily satisfy the people; gives them something to do to get them up, and withal are not dangerous, while yet they are amusing to the kings and their parasites. But let someone come to the front that they see is in earnest! How quick they will send their parasites, in the guise of reformers, into the ranks to circulate the talk that such are too radical, and call them Anarchists, or some other words equally as horrible. Destructionist is the popular meaning of the word, but to destroy by bombs, explosives, etc. To the kings every reformer is such an Anarchist. He knows the reforms advocated mean the destruction of the prerogatives he claims, the

destruction of the special privileges by which he rules. Yes, they are destructionists, as the smelter destroys the ores, that the metals they contain may be had for use; as the woodman destroys the tree, that it may be fashioned into useful forms; they are destructionists as were the founders of this government—destroyed one, that a better could be possible.

They are disturbers; they would disturb men with ill-gotten gains; they disturb the quiet enjoyment of the few in their special privileges. Governor Waite is charged with ruining the state of Colorado because some of the measures he advocates would make just such a disturbance; undoubtedly would make it a less profitable place for such, but how about the thousands that would be benefitted? To believe his maligners one would think there was no one worth considering except a few money-loaners and real estate sharks. The man who goes hunting with the expectation of bagging any game, must take his powder and shot along as well as his gun. And so the reformer in office must carry principles along to apply as well as good intentions. No others should be chosen for such work. Beware of men in the ranks who cry about others being too radical when the enemy is within range; they are most apt to be emissaries of the enemy.

JUDGE DUNDY'S ORDER.

As we are about to go to press with this issue of the MAGAZINE there is flashed over the country the information that, upon petition of the receivers of the Union Pacific, Judge Dundy, of the United States court for the district of Nebraska, had issued an order making sweeping reductions of wages, affecting all departments, and that the employes had also been enjoined from striking; that the attorneys for the receivers were then on their way to have the same order entered in Wyoming, Colorado and the other states. In the main, such proves to be the facts, and on reaching Denver the attorneys found representatives of the employes and their attorneys praying the court that they be heard before the order be entered, and time in which to prepare and answer to the petition of the receivers. Judge Hallett granted the prayer, and six days in which to make the answer, and stated that he would try and have Judge Riner of the Wyoming district present to sit with him during the hearing.

It must appear to all that the time granted is wholly insufficient to prepare a proper and full answer to a petition covering forty pages of printed matter, and which the receivers *have taken* several months to prepare. Still, the questions

that are of the most interest to the employes can be met, as that does not rest in the question of wages, but in that in which the rights of employes are involved; protection from the tyrannies of unreasoning persons that may be given bossing power over them. A man can stand the disadvantages of small wages if the conditions of his employment are pleasant, and there is assurance of the continuation of such conditions. Experience has demonstrated that it matters not how reasonable and just the general manager or superintendent may be who is over a large body of men scattered over hundreds of miles of territory, unless there be equitable rules and regulations for their government, pointing out their rights and duties, unjust conditions, tyrannies and abuses will creep in, and even when such rules are laid down, constant vigilance is necessary, and the employes, most conveniently through representatives, must be ready to enter complaint against their violation, and the way provided through which they may appeal. Such become of the most vital importance to the men, and none less so to the proper operation of the industry they are engaged in. It is a condition for the mutual good of employer and employe. Such is the testimony of every person who has had experience in such matters.

The receivers allege generally, as a reason for their petition, the prevailing depression in business and the consequent falling off in earnings of the road. Without questioning the reasonableness of that, which is a question of dollars, as a support for a desire to reduce wages, which is also a question of dollars, or referring to the merits or demerits of such a proposition, the petition goes still further and asks the abolition of existing rules and regulations, that define the rights of employes and which are the barriers between them and the unreasonable foremen. Financial or business depressions cannot be improved any by that or the consequences relieved. In fact, their abolition would tend to make such conditions worse.

Again, the petition calls for criticism in that it is discriminating. It abolishes all rules, regulations and schedules of wages in existence prior to the receivership, then provides new rules and regulations, in some respects fair, with a new reduced schedule of wages for train and enginemen; and a new schedule of wages, but no rules or regulations for the telegraphers. Of all others, it reaffirms existing wages, but reserves the right to change them from time to time, and is silent in everything pertaining to their rights and conditions of employment. It may be that such was not intended. If so, the receivers will willingly amend their petition, and consent to the modification of the court order to correspond therewith. That part of the petition that avers that there is dan-

ger of strikes and destruction of property, and the consequent order of the court, little attention need be given to, as no reasonable men under present conditions are effected thereby. The law says to every man thou shalt not kill, and it is of no inconvenience to those who do not want to kill. The order, as a whole, is a great modification from that issued on the Northen Pacific. The question is, should not all rules defining the rights and for the guidance of men remain under a receiver as under the corporation? And should not the question of the wages effected be ordered to be taken up with the men interested, and if no agreement can be reached, then let the court pass upon the matter. The receivers aver that all agreements between the company and the employes were not of such a nature that they should recognize them. There is a question here that it is important to have thoroughly argued before being decided, but assuming that the receivers are right, why should not the court order that they take them up with the men, with whom the corporation made them, for changes that may seem desirable, and then if they cannot agree, let the court pass upon the differences. Surely the court expects the receivers it appoints to use as good judgment in the management of such matters as a corporation manager would use. Whatever may be the finding of the pending question, it is to be hoped that it will not mar the equitable relations that have existed for years on the Union Pacific system. All the employes ask is what is just and fair. They wish to retain, above all things, their right of organization, and the avenues through which they can use that to define, and in support of, their rights.

"THE COMING SOCIETY" AND INDIVIDUALISM.

"The Coming Society" was the subject of a lecture by President Johnson of our state university on Friday, January 12, in this city. I was pleased to hear the president of our state educational institution take such a subject for his lecture to the Epworth League. And when I glanced over his audience, I was sorry to see so few, to which the speaker's remarks principally alluded, present.

It was shown that "new problems are arising on every hand, and the uncertainty of conditions society is struggling under demands the best thought of the age for a solution of the problems on a sensible basis." I agree with the president when he says "the church is not in touch with the masses," and that "the restless and discontented masses will control future events," that "they will not ask the church to help them solve the problem of the coming crisis."

I agree with him that "a century of popular education" has not solved everything.

I further agree that "false economic theories such as have been taught the past century" by most of our educational institutions have done much to bring about the present conditions in our society. And I know it to be a fact that the press that has lied, slandered and abused men for having the courage of their convictions has assisted to prolong these conditions.

The lecturer said that "Socialism, while theoretically right, was practically

false," and still he continued to argue that "the coming society must be based on the golden rule and the sermon on the mount." If he who preached this sermon could come on earth and preach some of his sermons over to-day in most of our cities, he would be condemned by the very people who maintain the institutions named after him as an extremest on social doctrines. I again agree with Dr. Johnson when he says: "Our boasted civilization is not Christian at all." But I disagree with him when he says "the increasing selfish individualism, both in the church and out of it," are in any way responsible for the wrongs society is laboring under to-day. In fact I shall take exceptions to his use of the words "selfish individualism." I believe it to be a contradiction of words; as much so as if I were to speak of a "free slave."

I will never believe that John Brown was prompted by selfish motives when he tried to free the slave, and yet I know that he had enough individuality to hang him in a semi-barbarous age. When the church said the earth was flat, I cannot believe that Magellan was selfish, when he said: "I have seen the earth's shadow on the moon; and I have more confidence even in that shadow than in the church."

An individualist is one who is not afraid to be alone in his opinions, one who believes his thoughts to be true. And if true, they are of the greatest import to the world. Somebody was once alone in about all that is said, done and believed in the world.

One, of all the millions, had in his great heart and measureless thought the first seed of the whole order of things in which we live.

The steam engine, the telegraph, railroads, systems of education, moral reform—Christianity itself—is but the vibration of an individual force. May their numbers rapidly increase will be my prayer. To think and act as we are compelled is to be just and honest in both deed and action; then we will represent thinking in the most honorable and acceptable existence. We have no certain choice of what we shall think; we are compelled to think independently of our will, and often entertain ideas we wish we could have avoided. Of the next minute, the next hour, of to-morrow, we know nothing. The individualist believes that he alone is free who dares to differ in thought with his former teachers, and honest when he invites or demands demonstration to test the correctness in thought. Thought can be traced to objects and motions that we can analize, and like digestion and respiration depend on certain organs and their functions for existence; no respiration without lungs, no digestion without a stomach, no thought without a brain. Withdraw the blood from the relative parts of the body and respiration, digestion and thought cease.

I feel thankful to the individualist of the past, from whom we have learned these facts, for the possible means necessary to more fully and correctly understand the material and immediate cause of disease and death. Equal rights in expression, test and useful application of thought is a most fitting motto of the individualist.

Abandon the self-reliance of this much-abused class, and men become intellectual parasites. President Johnson in his lecture told his audience that "we had too much churchism and not enough of the spirit of Christ." I will never veto that expression, but will add that Christianity as practiced is an ecclesiastical Babel, and many of the professed teachers like some of the people's representatives in politics—are more of a benefit to themselves than to the masses. But party platforms and creeds will last just as long as the ignorance that supports them.

I still maintain that education will solve the problems of the coming crisis. Because the masses are receiving an education—although it may be in a night school over a livery stable—that is learning them to rely on themselves, and on their own judgment. They are beginning to think it will prove a great

benefit to them to learn to know more and believe less, rather than believe so much and know so little. They are learning in the practical school of experience that the productiveness of capital that was condemned by Jesus under the name of "usury" has more to do with the business depressions that commenced again with the panic of 1893 than "selfish individualism." And still Secretary Carlisle is about to give them another object lesson by issuing more interest-bearing bonds. Usury is one of the true causes of misery; it is the true principle of destitution, and an eternal obstacle to republican institutions. Many of our educational institutions have been endowed, and are being maintained, by the system of usury taken from the producers, therefore we cannot expect them to teach anything but false systems, or false economic theories.

The night schools are increasing in numbers. Some of their "professors" have not been brought up even "under the shadow of a university," but they are doing more to spread the true principles of political economy than others who are drawing larger salaries. They have commenced to educate the masses in what are the proper functions of government, and the true and only function of money. Since there are so many who are feeling the effects a circulating medium based on an interest-bearing debt is having on society, they grasp the idea the more readily. Feeling is to them simple truth stripped of all its adornments. While life is but a stage to a portion of society, to these pupils of the night schools it is more like a court house, from the fact that it is full of trials. "The coming society" in my estimation will be made up of a majority of those who have had the practical education to teach them that when they signed a note for money borrowed, they promised to return more than they received; hence they are already wondering how the government will ever pay its debts if they have to give interest-bearing notes (bonds) to borrow money.

I will conclude my quotations from the lecture as follows: "The church is awakening with a new energy to meet the emergency of the next century." And I am tempted to compare the church with some of the Denver newspapers, who thought they had awoke to meet the emergency of the special session of the legislature in the state of Colorado. These hired servants of eastern investors of Colorado securities sought to lead the representatives of the people by saying they would adjourn sine die the first day. But since they would not be led, the newspapers will meet the emergency from the rear.

I remember well the time when President Lincoln, the greatest individualist of the present century, was writing his emancipation proclamation, that the church of the south and quite a respectable portion in the north were busy quoting scripture that sanctioned slavery, to sustain the institution. In the emancipation of the wage slaves, the church will meet the emergency once more by following the procession. Individualism is being confounded by many with the policy of "*Laessez nous faire.*" Let us act for or take care of ourselves. "Let us alone." If this was the proper definition, then I agree that there is too much individualism. But this is the "individualism" (?) of the despots who own our gigantic manufacturing monopolies that have been the children of class laws the past thirty years or more, and who have their hordes of lobbyists in Washington to-day all howling "*Laessez nous faire.*"

H. BREITENSTEIN.

Laramie, Wyo.

Property would be valueless without a public to use it.

It is better to see "men as trees walking" than not to see at all.

There is nothing for which the heart yearns more than sympathy.

The only way to keep from back sliding is to keep sliding forward.

THE SHOP KICKER.

In shops the man who is "always kicking about something" soon loses what popularity he may have had, and is apt also to lose his job, and yet even kickers have their uses. It is a mere truism to say that most improvements are made as a result not merely of someone seeing that there is room for improvement, but insisting that such improvement should be made, and this is usually called kicking.

The formation of this government and all the good that has resulted from it commenced in a vigorous and determined kick by men who thought they were being imposed upon, and who were regarded as cranks and senseless fault-finders by those who in that day thought, as many think now, that we should let well enough alone, and be satisfied with things as they are.

From the most important public questions to small matters of shop management, there are kickers and kickers, some who kick with insufficient reason, and others whose kicking is really almost the principal cause of discussion, progress and improvement.

A machine shop goes along for years without an effort to keep things decently clean. The tools become buried in accumulated strata of oil and dirt until it becomes an utter impossibility for a workman to use them and retain the sense of touch needed to properly handle tools and get good work out of them, even if the limited amount of light struggling through the dirty windows, and not absorbed by the dirty, black walls and ceiling would permit him to do any really good or close work. Finally the kicker comes along, and kicks—actually asserts that there should be such things as benzine and cotton waste, and soap and water and brooms in a machine shop, and that a man leaving a lathe or a drill press after doing a job upon it, should leave it in decent condition for the next man; that there should be a general wiping up of machines once a week. He keeps up the kicking about this until possibly he stimulates one or two others to feebly join him, and finally there is an improvement which very much increases the efficiency of that shop and the profits of its proprietors, as well as the comfort and self-respect of the men who work in it; but by that time the kicker has usually become recognized as a "chronic" and is "sacked," his beneficent influence, however, remaining as a permanent fixture.

Another shop has an inadequate heating system, causing a goodly portion of the time that should be spent in doing work to be devoted instead to the blowing of fingers, swinging of arms, and standing about stoves, to say nothing of loss of time through severe colds, pneumonia, and even consumption, brought on by exposure. A kicker appears here also, and brings about an improvement, enabling the men to work in comfort, and the proprietor to make more money, but the chances are that unless he is a very skillful kicker he loses his job.

And this brings us to the point that there are different ways of kicking. A man may kick skillfully and to some purpose without injuring himself; or on the other hand he can kick in such a manner, or at such a time, or under such circumstances, as to produce no other result than his own discomfiture. And again there are shops in which no kick can possibly do any good, and in which the only perceptible result of a kick is to react upon the kicker.

Kicking is right and proper and necessary under certain circumstances, but the man that feels inclined to kick had better be careful in his choice of time, place and method, for he may kick himself into a better position, or out of a job, depending upon his choice of time, place and method.

And for proprietors of machine shops there is a right and a wrong way to deal with kickers. Sometimes a vigorous kicker is in reality a valuable acquisition for a shop, and before deciding what to do with one it is wise to first carefully consider whether there is just

cause for kicking, and if so whether or not the removal of that cause will not make the non-kickers also better satisfied, and tend toward increased profits in the business.—*American Machinist.*

TOM MANN,

THE ENGLISH LABOR LEADER.

In the stormy days of the red flag socialist agitation in London, John Burns and his three comrades were being tried for seditious conspiracy at the Central criminal court. In the north meetings were being held by the Social Democratic Federation in support of the prisoners. At one of these gatherings a young man was speaking with considerable eloquence and power. The crowd not following his argument and not thinking him sufficiently advanced, seemed apathetic. I listened carefully to the speaker and felt that Mr. Hyndman had a disciple that would one day be greater than his teacher. The speaker had the appearance of a mechanic, straight from the bench; his emphasis clearly indicated that he was not a Londoner. The determination that marked his attitude as he spoke has since proved one of the chief characteristics. Part of his speech I well remember. With a dogmatism not surpassed by the average pulpiteer, he exclaimed: "Look here lads, we have to get the machinery of production into our own hands. That can be best done by parliamentary action. It's no use your growling at the capitalist; you should work to fit yourselves to take part in the revolution that's coming. That revolution will be brought about by constitutional means. To-day the workers do not know the power that is in their own hands, nor do they know how to use it." The speaker I afterwards found was Tom Mann. Nearly four years after I heard him speak again, but under other circumstances. The dock strike was in full swing. Mr. Mann, as one of the popular tribune, was speaking at the dock gates and at Tower hill. He had developed in many ways. As a speaker he was not less dogmatic, but more logical. Strength of conviction had been supplemented by power to reason.

In the dock strike, Burns, Tillet and Mann revealed powers of oratory and organization which immediately put them in the front rank of labor leaders. On the south side of the Thames the strike had caught on. From London bridge to the Surrey Commercial docks at Deptford, thousands of men were idle. A local strike committee had been formed, and was in communication with the now famous Wade's Arms committee. But there was no organizer, and the movement was in danger of going to pieces for want of a leader. In response to my appeal Tom Mann came over to organize the South side. He addressed meetings from five in the morning until late in the day, and then returned to headquarters to report progress. From that time the success of the strike on the South side was assured. So enthusiastic were the men that they formed a distinct South side organization in the hope of Tom Mann becoming their leader.

The restraining influence and determination of Tom Mann was most manifest at the council meetings. At one of these the men were discussing the advisability of using methods which, if they had been used and discovered, might have transported the whole of them. Tom was in the chair. With considerable calmness he put the case in all its bareness before the men, and pointed out possible consequences. Having done this with characteristic coolness he called for the next business, and refused to allow any return to the old sujbect of discussion. The tight hand he held over that meeting did much to discipline the men and prevent riot. Those who have been through a strike and have seen the awful suffering it entails upon the women and children marvel at the coolness and patience of the men and temperateness of the leaders. A strike is war. Those in active service know only the events that occurred where they served. As good

Cardinal Manning said, "time and distance are necessary for an estimate of its value," and this will come from those who have watched the fray from the outside. But those in the ranks cannot forget the anxiety caused by the thought that a single act of a fool or a rogue might have let loose forces in a moment that could not afterwards have been controlled without the shedding of blood. About the end of the strike I was presiding at a stormy meeting in Dockhead. The hall was packed with men hungry and angry. Tom Mann had refused to lead them in a split from the central organization. They felt that the South side was not being fairly treated by the executive committee. They had depended on Tom leading them. His refusal was a disappointment which they resented. That meeting will never be forgotten. When Mr. Mann rose to speak the men tried to howl him down, an experiment they never repeated. He called for their ringleader and spoke to him as a general would speak to an officer likely to rebel. Before his determination and courage the meeting grew calm and silent. Then seizing the opportunity he pointed out how their strength lay in centralization and full control of all contributions. At this a stalwart loafer called out: "You want to control the money." This again threw the audience into tumult, during which the same voice was heard to call Mr. Mann a thief. Then came the crisis. A police inspector was at the back of the hall with a force of a hundred men. He asked if I wished the hall cleared. while replying to him Tom Mann went from the platfom in the direction of the fellow who had called him a thief, with the intention of compelling him to apologize or quit the building. A gangway was made by his assailants, who shrank back cowed by this exhibition of pluck. What would have happened no one knows. Happily for the meeting, and for the loafer, John Burns came in at that juncture and asked whether they had Mr. Norwood there, and order was restored.

When Mom Mann became president of the Dockers' Union, he began the task that most trades unionists regarded as impossible. It was the general opinion that unskilled labor, especially the dockers, could not be held together in trade societies without the excitement of a strike. During the stormy period through which the new unions have passed Tom Mann's administration has done much to demonstrate the possibility of organizing unskilled labor. The difficulties seemed endless. Distrust, petty jealousies, unworthy ambitions, and want of capacity, were enough to dishearten any man who simply worked for wages. Well for the dockers and labor generally that there were leaders who looked to the cause rather than the pay. Mr. Mann has a capacity for grasping details and working them into system far above that of any labor leader I have met. His scheme of reorganization of dock work has been commended by many wharfingers and dock directors. It is one of the boldest attempts to absorb casual labor that has been before the public. His pamphlet upon the eight-hour day trade option shows the same qualities that bid fair to make the London Reform Union a powerful and useful organization. To him belongs the credit of forming that organization, which has a programme big enough for a new political party.

One of Mr. Mann's pet ideals is the unification of the metropolis. The capital city of the world is to-day nothing more than a group of districts with no more citizenship or common life than the counties, but its unity is within measurable distance; the idea of "one London" has taken hold on the popular mind largely as the result of the work done by the London Reform Union. This vigorous society owes much of its vitality to Mr. Mann, who is now its secretary without pay. He felt that the money payment was a check to his freedom of utterance on labor questions; his colleagues, though they might differ from him, wanted him to maintain entire liberty of speech and his secreta-

ryship. This he could not do; he agreed to do most of the work, but take no pay. Few men, even among Tom Mann's critics, have shown sufficient regard for liberty of speech to make so considerable a sacrifice to preserve it. Had he been other than the honorable fellow he is, the idea of giving up a good berth for conscience sake would never have troubled him. From the time he worked in the mine as a boy he has shown the capacity for organization.—*Review of Reviews.*

MONEY NOT NECESSARY.

One may stand on the busy streets of any of our large cities, and by him will continually pass streams of trucks loaded with merchandise. Men work in factories from dawn till dark; they delve in the bowels of the earth and force their way into all but the impregnable forests. Sailors cling to reeling masts on tempestuous oceans; engineers stand with hands on throttles, and their eagle eyes penetrate the gloom ahead; busy artisans skillfully mould shapeless things into beauteous forms; in every direction the wheels of industry turn day and night. The plowman turns the furrows in virgin lands; on thousands of hillsides range carefully-tended cattle, while in the valley below the shepherds tend their flocks. These are things we see. What is the meaning of it all? Merely that diversified industry is providing for the comfort of the human being. Every effort that is made with human hands and brains tends to add to the comfort, to the happiness, to the prosperity and to the advancement of the human race.

Where does the money question come in, in all this? It is the one useless thing upon the face of the earth. It has no taste, it cannot be eaten, it cannot be worn, it cannot shelter us. Its only office, then, in our complex civilization, is to facilitate an exchange of the things that the human family need. In this country we raise corn, wheat, cattle, hogs, and cotton, more easily and, therefore, to a greater extent, than any other people on the face of the earth. Nature has given to us boundless resources. Our coal and iron are the most abundant in the world; therefore it is that we are naturally the one nation of the earth that can manufacture the things needed for mankind more easily than other people. Then why should we ever need a dollar in gold to settle a balance against us? Why is it we cannot settle such balances with products or with goods? It is in this direction that the discussion of the money question, if carried out to its logical conclusion, inevitably leads us. The farmers complain of hard times and low prices for their products. The country is filled with men of brains and brawn who have no work to do, while the nations of the east are begging for the staples we can raise, and which they are most eager to buy, and in the production of which all our surplus labor could be absorbed. There is a lion in the path, evidently. By his removal the money question will be settled and the unemployed millions of our country put to work. The question is, shall we be wise enough and bold enough to remove him?—*National Economist.*

LEECHES THAT FATTEN ON LABOR.

The cruel fact must be faced without falsehood or cowardice, that certain classes, insignificant in number, but omnipotent in economics till now, absorb, without consuming, vast portions of production which they never earned. For if all the wealth annually produced were consumed by the producers, or if the surplus, whatever it was, remained in the hands of those whose labor created it, there could be no panics and no bankruptcy.

Who are the leeches that fatten on the labor of the great army of production? Let not fear or prejudice restrain the question, nor ignorance falsify or malice defile the answer.

First—The banks. They add nothing to the productive wealth of the country.

What do they filch from it? The 3,700 national banks do business on a capital stock (in round numbers) of $700,000,000. They have an average of individual deposits amounting to $1,800,000,000. They loan this sum of $2,500,000,000 (deducting reserves). which gives them an increase that may fairly be estimated at $120,000,000. The interest they receive on their deposited bonds may be estimated (deducting tax) at $25,000,000 more. And for all this increase they perform no productive labor.

Second—The railroad magnates. By their own showing their annual increase is $350,000,000. This sum is what they call their "net earnings," after they have taken pay for all the labor involved in transportation.

Third—The money-lenders. There are no exact statistics of the amount absorbed by these gentlemen. But from the vast amount of property revealed by the last census as under mortgage, as well as from the study of other data, it may be considered as an under-statement to put the sum that interest exacts of the actual producers at $500,000,000. To sum up:

1.	Banks	$145,000,000
2.	Railroads	350,000,000
3.	Money-lenders	500,000,000
	Total	$995,000,000

So much taken from productive industry without an equivalent.

Besides the parasites whose gains are already enumerated there are the landlords, the coal barons, the telegraph and telephone monopolies, the numerous trusts and combines—in a word, all the organizations and agencies that fill their coffers with unearned increase—whose annual extortions cannot fairly be estimated at less than another sum of $1,000,000,000.

Who pays this yearly tribute of $2,000,000,000? There can be but one answer—the productive labor of the country.—*Donahoe's Magazine.*

Men who get excited are not fit to be trustod with anything more complicated than a wheelbarrow.

A NEW CIVILIZATION.

Why did our forefathers fight for the kings and nobles who robbed them? Why did they give their sons and daughters to their rulers for servants and pleasure? Why were they content to live the meanest, hardest lives of drudgery that the kings, nobles and great people might live in luxury? Why were they always willing to shoulder battle axe and torch at the call of the ruler and go over the border, or perhaps the next neighborhood, and murder people and burn down their homes, when these people had never injured them? I wish I could fasten your attention on these questions long enough to seriously meditate. Why did the people act so badly? Was it anything else but ignorance? They had been taught from childhood that it was honorable to be a killer of men and that they must obey their king. And as they understood honor, they were honored for doing these things. They could not see themselves as we can now look back on them. Do you see what I'm driving at? We have, as a race, progressed wonderfully, but do you believe the race is yet as perfect as it will be? Will all coming generations obey the same kind of laws we now do, think you? Do you believe that no society can be founded where there will be no want, misery and starvation? Do you not believe that coming generations will devise remedies for existing inequalities and injustice? And if so, by what other means than by thinking out remedies? Then why not this generation think out these remedies? And are you sure that the remedies are not already thought out and you have not learned that fact? Do you think that as soon as anything of benefit to the human family is thought out that everybody knows it at once? Have not all scientific men had to fight the prejudice of centuries before the people would adopt the truths they discovered? Is it not in the range of possibilities that you may be one of those combatting some political truths that would make you and yours nobler and happier?

As our forefathers held to ideas that oppressed themselves, may we all not now be holding other ideas just as ignorant and oppressive? And can we ever be certain until we take our ideas that are disputed, and tear them to pieces, look at them on all sides, analyze them and get other's views of them also? Have you so taken your political ideas and examined them without prejudice? Or have you taken them as handed down to you? If all men had taken and held to the ideas as given them, would the world not be in darkness yet? Are you one who rejects all new ideas without examining? Brother, the New Civilization offers you, poor or rich, your wife, your children, your neighbors—all mankind, peace, plenty, happiness and progress? Why will you spurn it and cast it aside as something loathesome, wild, impossible, without an investigation?—*Coming Nation.*

After all the debate which has gone on regarding the price of '94 model wheels, the first of the leaders in the trade to boldly announce prices for the ensuing year is the Overman Wheel Company, which now makes public the fact that Victors for '94 will be listed at $125 instead of $150. This price applies only after January 1, 1894. The action of the Chicopee Falls people will force the other leaders in the trade to show their hands and announce their plans and prices for the ensuing year, as the Overman Wheel Company has done. This will be an advantage to everyone connected with sport. The uncertainty heretofore existing as to what prices were to be demanded next year by the great makers has had a particularly baneful effect upon a trade which is at present more in need of stimulation than it is of any retarding treatment at the hands of those who control it. With all the talk regarding next season's prices which has gone on for the past three months, the buyer has declined to even consider the purchase of his next season's mount until he knew something definite regarding the price thereof, while the dealer, himself in the dark regarding same, has also refused to lay any plans for the future until he was in possession of something more substantial than rumors. We believe fhe Overman Wheel Company by announcing the price of its '94 patterns has conferred a distinct favor upon the whole of cycling from a standpoint of sport as well as trade. With Victors in the market at $125 it will be a bold maker who will annouce a higher figure without a great deal of thought upon the subject. The Overman company has thrown a bomb-shell into the fort of high prices which will cause an awful scattering for cover on the part of the small fry who have heretofore been waiting to see what the big guns intended doing. It looks as though the Victor next year again intended to "make the pace" as its makers have always claimed it to have done in the past.—*Exchange.*

THE GOSSIPERS.

When people git to gossipin' sometimes they'll set an' talk
Fer hours an' hours together, jest ez reg'ler ez a clock;
I s'pose they think folks love to hear their never-endin' yawp,
But when Samantha's talked awhile she knows enough to stop.

When Mrs. Jones wuz tellin' et our place the other day
Thet Mrs. Williams tol' her that her neighbor, Mrs. Gray,
Said she never saw so big a story-teller's Widder Heath,
Samantha sat there quiet with her tongue between her teeth.

She ain't forever slingin' out sech everlastin' gab;
She often sez "et's bad enough to hear the neighbors blab:"
But she jes' stays et home insted an' 'tends to family cares,
A'n never tells the neighborhood about her home affairs.

We don't take any papers, but with news we're well supplied,
Fer the neighbors tell us every birth an' death an' suicide.
When Mrs. Jones comes up our walk a-squeakin' them new shoes,
Sometimes Samantha'll say to me, "Here comes the daily news."

—*Yankee Blade.*

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Bound volumes of the MAGAZINE for 1893 can now be secured from this office. Sent postpaid for $1.50. Order reform books through this office.

MAGAZINE agents are requested to send in promptly any collections made the present month. The money is needed to arrange for the supplies needed for the MAGAZINE during the present year.

Reports for January from the various locals are practically all in, and they do not show at all points that interest in passing events that should come from every man. Still, they show that the order is alive.

Brother George N. Griffin, of Almy, was a caller at the District Assembly headquarters the past month. The fire in the Almy mines left him without work there, and he has located in Colorado. He reports the shutting down of the Almy mines as causing considerable distress among the miners there.

With this issue begins the ninth year and volume of the MAGAZINE. Many of the subscribers have been such since the first issue. We feel confident of the prompt continuation of such, for we believe they understand the value it has been to the maintenance of right conditions. It is from such we look for aid in getting others interested in it. The wider its circulation the greater the good it can do, and the better able are the publishers to improve it. We certainly expect to be able to insure its regular appearance during the coming year as in the past, but our ability in this respect depends in a great measure on the support its friends give it. It cannot go on without that.

In the employes intervening in the matter of the order of Judge Dundy they are opening up new avenues for the maintenance of their rights and seeking to place them on the highest plane. What may be gained in this will be a lasting gain, and of a nature that comes to every man employed by a railroad corporation, whether he be a member of a labor organization or not. There is due from every man such aid as he can give to support those who are taking the lead in this matter. It is not a strike support, but a support of the highest of actions, nor is it as expensive; but money is needed. A little from each will go a long way. Every employe of the Union Pacific, whether he be a member of any organization or not, is invited to assist in this matter, either through the local organization or this office. If you cannot do anything direct, subscribe for the MAGAZINE. It will be an indirect help. The question is not one of antagonism between the management and the men, but one in which the equitable rights of workingmen are to be passed upon. The vital part is not a question of wages, but of principle, and a principle, too, that has been recognized by the managers of the corporations. If it can be sustained in the courts, it will be placing it on a permanent foundation. Who will refuse to aid in such a move?

Vick's Floral Guide, 1894.

It contains descriptions that describe, not mislead; illustrations that instruct, not exaggerate. This year it comes to us in a suit of gold. Printed in eight different colors besides black. Colored plates of Chrysanthemums, Poppies and Vegetables. On the front cover is a very exquisite bunch of Vick's New White Branching Aster and on the back is the New Double Anemone; 112 pages filled with many new novelties of value as well as all the old leading varieties of flowers and vegetables.

We advise our friends who intend doing anything in the garden this year to consult Vick before starting operations. Send 10 cents to James Vick's Sons, Rochester, N. Y., for Vick's Guide, it costs nothing, as you can deduct the 10 cents from first order. It certainly will pay you.

month.

The health of the major portion of the men is good. AU BOUT DE SON.

SHOSHONE, Idaho, January 24, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Among the signs we have noted during the past few weeks, not the least important is the action of General Master Workmen Sovereign in bringing an injunction suit against Secretary Carlisle restraining him from carrying out his part of the deal made when Cleveland was nominated; restraining him from plunging the country further in debt, from committing an act which, if honesty ruled in the management of our national affairs, would result in his impeachment, from binding the tax-paying, interest-paying toilers of our country yet more firmly to the wheels of capitalism's juggernaut. This interest leech which cries give! give! yet is never satiated; most cruel of all forms of exaction, more inhuman even than rent, profits or dividends, from whose clutches the payer must struggle to extricate himself, the struggle generally continuing until the unfortunate victim is laid away beneath the daisies.

The demands of interest continue whether in sickness or in health, in prosperity or adversity, night and day, weekday and holiday, never ceasing. Interest has claimed its victims by the million. Think of these men who should protect the honor and good name of our country, renowned for its skill in production, the granary of the world, think of these pirates forcing the United States to assume before the nations of the world the position of a borrower, a mendicant, while five hundred millions of dollars lie idle in the treasury.

A dispatch from the Black Hills of Dakota mentions that the mine owners there have determined to reduce the wages of the miners, the men believing the determination to be an unjust one, decided to resist, thereupon the merchants began denouncing the men for not accepting the reduction. Look at this a moment.

Here are a number of wealth-producers extracting from the national resources metals which, when they arrive at the surface of the ground, are taken possession of by the agent of a lot of (in this case) Englishmen, who have a paper title to a part of the United States. These Englishmen retain the greatest portion of the value of this product, finally becoming wealthy by so doing, returning to the men who produced it just enough to live upon, enough to keep them in condition to continue able to work. Now, they, the idlers, propose the workers shall do with less, in order that they may take more of the product from the toiler; the workers say no. Then this other set of fellows who have also been getting rich from the results of the workers' toil, put in their say, and as usual in most cases of this kind, when there is a dispute between the capitalist and the laborer, he, the merchant so-called, takes the side of the capitalist as against the laborer, in order that there may be no break in the steady flow of his profits from the direction of these mudsills. This class have even been known to have taken a rifle under the leadership of a sheriff to force the toilers back into their pits and trenches to dig upon the terms of the plundering capitalist, as was done in two instances in our own state. There are noble exceptions, however. Some have exhausted their own resources in sustaining the workman.

When the men in the Black Hills understand their situation clearly; that is, that they are being ground to pulp between the upper millstone of capitalism and the nether millstone of want, they will vote the Populist ticket, placing the ownership of the railroads permanently in the hands of the government, and then start co-operative mines and stores, without the burden of discrimination from railroad managers.

Much interest is being taken by workingmen in the Corbett-Mitchell fight. It would be interesting to have the amount of money invested by them in the result of the coming together of these bruisers, placed in parallel columns with the amounts they have put into the Populist campaign fund.

John Burns, the labor representative in the British parliament, has accomplished a splendid piece of work in having secured eight hours per day for 20,000 government employes without a reduction in wages. It is said he, with others, will soon visit the United States.

Kerosene oil is to-day being retailed at five cents per gallon in Denver, while here thirty-five cents, or seven times as much, is paid for the same quantity. What a funny old thing is the tariff.

We have just learned of an interesting matter, which, if true, and there is not very much reason to doubt it, goes to show how things are sometimes done.

In our meat market recently hung two very fine lambs, ready for the oven. They were to be sent in a day or two by the owner, a prominent sheep man, as presents, good-will offerings, or something of that kind, one to the division superintendent, the other to the assistant division superintendent. Where the office boy

comes in we do not know. Now, we understand, this prominent sheep man rides over the railroads of the state on a pass. So here it is: Superintendents—prominent sheep man—fat lambs—railroad pass. Draw your own inference.

Now that bonds are to be issued, will not the Laramie correspondent reprint his formula of perpetual motion for the readers of the MAGAZINE.

Let every employe subscribe for the UNION PACIFIC MAGAZINE.

Why should not the workingmen of other states meet together at this time, as the workers, regardless of organization or affiliation, have done in Nebraska, Montana and Colorado.

SAGE BRUSH.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, January 25, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The terrible weather of the past few days serves to emphasize the dreadful conditions with which the masses are surrounded.

Criminal violations of law are bad enough, but when the powers of the courts are called into requisition to punish the theft of a few pounds of coal, taken in necessity to keep the family from freezing, we are in danger of losing that respect for law which is the bulwark of free institutions. Here in our twin cities of Omaha and Council Bluffs every effort is making on the part of the charitably disposed to provide for the most pressing necessities of the very poor, and a little public work is projected to lighten the burden of charity. But what a quandary the good people are in to find means of approaching those poor who will not yet ask for charity or make their wants known! A few more years, however, and that difficulty will have been minimized, and the majority of the toilers will accept charity readily enough whenever it is offered. The very charitable people who are running the Rescue Hall in Omaha are using the accumulation of needy men there to break down wages in the only regular winter work of importance, the ice cutting, the reverend gentlemen in charge offering to furnish men for fifty to seventy-five cents per day at that work.

A notable feature of the public work undertaken here to relieve the unemployed has been the resolution to adopt the plan so strenuously advocated by the Knights of Labor, leaving out the contractor and letting the wages of labor go entirely to the laborer. I suppose, however, that as soon as the present stress has subsided there will be a return to the old plan of fattening contractors at the expense partly of the taxes, but principally of the wages, of the toiler.

If we had a system of public works which would pay all the wages to the men who earned them and would furnish work to the idle when these results of public mismanagement paralyzed industry, it is evident enough that much suffering might be avoided, but it is of little use to say "if." The way to remedy the difficulty is to let the people govern themselves instead of creating classes to which the public service is farmed out and by which the government is managed from the highest to the lowest places.

We seem just now to be in a very mysterious predicament in the matter of government finances. We don't seem really to know whether the secretary of the treasury can force us to borrow money to relieve the plethora in Wall street or whether we can force him to coin the bullion he has already bought into money to run the government with.

Hadn't we better decide this question of whose government this is, pretty soon?

It is my opinion that we had better make our own government a success before we annex the Hawaiian or any other islands, for it is very doubtful if the coon queen of the Kanakas is not preferable as a ruler to the usurer's oligarchy which seems to dictate the policy of our government, whether Harrison or Cleveland are nominally at the head of it. If General Master Workman Sovereign can establish the fact that the people are in control when they choose to put forth their power he will have accomplished much, but his action will not be in vain if it fails of its direct object, but at the same time demonstrates the immediate necessity for a revolution. Matters in railroad circles are very slow at the Union Pacific transfer, very little being done at this season in any year. The platform freight handler's force has been reduced one gang. The unorganized whose salaries were reduced last fall are not yet entirely hopeless of a restoration of pay. I have no doubt that they will get it, *when they are in a position to enforce a demand.* NEMO.

DENVER, January 29, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Quite a number of events have happened here this month to break the usual monotony of the regular routine of affairs.

On January 7, engine 395, which had just been overhauled somewhere down on the Nebraska division, was fired up for service on this division, and the round-house foreman, Eli Puncheon, and George Oliver, a machinist, had just set the pop. Puncheon had just jumped

down from the engine, and Oliver was standing yet on the running board, when the dome cap blew off, giving way just inside the studs. Oliver was struck by some flying pieces in the face, tearing it badly and breaking the jaw bone in two places, besides some scalds. The wonder is how he escaped death. However, while a great sufferer, he is improving, and we hope to see him around as usual soon. Oliver is one of those kind of men that is generally liked by all. An examination of the dome cap developed the fact that there was an old crack running around it, and would point to carelessness in examination of it by those who had charge of the repairs. Perhaps it is a product of the one the North Platte correspondent referred to last month.

On the 1st a new foreman was installed in the paint shop. His name is St. Peter, and he proved quite an innovation in this locality. It has been a long time since anything of his kind has developed here. He undoubtedly has had little experience, or if any, where things were run different than on the Union Pacific.

During the month, however, he has been learning a great deal, and it is to be hoped now that he will profit by the experience. The days of abusing men are gone by. Such may still linger around some obscure Kansas town, but it has been done away with on the Union Pacific system. A repetition of the past month would cast a serious reflection on the local management. However, the indications at this writing are that it will not be true.

To-day, the press reports that the receivers had secured an order from the courts for a further reduction in wages, has caused considerable uneasiness. The prospects that the points at issue will be met in the United States court here, by the organizations, and thus that the justice of the order of the Nebraska judge be tested, is placing a new phase on the matter. As yet, little is known of the extent of the order, or how sweepingly it effects the employes. Newspaper reports are hardly good mediums on which to base judgment.

There is seen considerably increased interest in organization. It is such times that the helplessness of the individual is realized. Organization is a good weapon to have ready for use at a moment's notice, and there are many ways for it to show its power besides striking. In fact, the days of striking are about over.

X. X. X.

LARAMIE, Wyo., January 24, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Everything here is moving along smoothly at present between the men and those in authority. In fact, I believe we have less cause for complaint in this direction than some district terminals on the system, as appears to be the case if the correspondence of last issue would be used as a criterion.

The changing of motive power to where it belonged, on Denver and Gulf, has apparently made more repairs necessary, as the engines to be sent back had to have considerable repairs to get them in good condition, and it appears that many that were returned had to have still more work done on them. This has made the round house work more of a task and retarded the progress on engines in shops for general repairs. In addition to this the cold weather we are having again shows the necessity of more and better round-house accommodations.

The continual waste going on every winter, which means a longer time than in a more southern climate, caused by a waste of fuel, extra help to watch engines in severe weather when standing out, bursted air, steam and water pipes, and numerous other causes of injury to engines, would, I believe, pay for a new round house with all the modern improvements in a very few years. Still, we congratulate ourselves when we learn that there are other places that fare worse than Laramie in this respect.

The A. R. U. had quite a large meeting a short time ago, the object of which was to get employes to sign a petition to Judge Dundy, praying for the maintenance of former schedules.

It was rumored to-day that the men in the transportation department had received notice that a new schedule would be asked for by the receivers. I was not able to learn anything more definite, therefore cannot verify the statement.

I am glad to see the stand our General Master Workman Sovereign is taking on the bond question, and to see that Governor Waite of Colorado heeds not the hireling press of Denver, that Senator Pease of Colorado has made a record for himself by way of roasting Denver newspapers and politicians for their nefarious schemes during the special session.

It is a good indication when you can note that such papers no longer reflect the opinions of the common people. If it were not for the current news of the day their circulation would be much more limited. True men will care more for what they say, than for what the Denver papers say about them, and none but the common people, who are in the majority, are to blame for not having enough of them in the present legislature to do their bidding.

Considerable complaint is being made here against the company's doctor. The complaint is of the same nature that was made a few years ago against a Cheyenne doctor employed by the company, who cured everything with some little pills, and on one occasion gave the patient the whole box. When he reached home he was surprised to find it empty, and believing it would require too much faith to effect a cure by swallowing pill boxes, he went to another physician and paid again for his treatment, after being assessed forty cents a month.

Our Laramie doctor does not treat patients with pasteboard, but you get a certain kind of liniment for every malady. For some cases this liniment is a splendid remedy, but for some for whom it is being used, it is but very little better than pasteboard pill boxes.

If the medicine cannot be furnished, as it is often claimed by some, for the amount the company pays for it, then we should know it. The assessment of forty cents a month entitles all to the best of treatment. The objections druggists have, if I am correctly informed, is that the prescriptions are so small that it does not pay to bother with them, and that they have to be so often refilled. Since the patient is required to have so much "faith" in some of the company's physicians, why not adopt the faith cure entire and economize by saving the cost of the medicine. There are plenty of doctors of this school of practice out of a job, and many of them have no union cards, hence could be hired cheap. LXXXII.

NORTH PLATTE, Neb., January 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

I see Friend McGinty, of deep sea fame, came up smiling last month in his brand new suit of clothes. His coming was very timely indeed. The parties that he hit claimed (through one of our local sheets called a newspaper) they took no notice of such stuff as was published in the MAGAZINE.

Well, the New Year was ushered in with house cleaning, around the Lincoln county court house, "Pubs" going out and "Pops" going in. It seems almost impossible that as big a change could have taken place in three short years.

This month seems to be a lively one for social events. The A. O. H. gave their second annual entertainment on January 16, at Lloyd's opera house, which was a complete success. It was opened with an address by our fellow-townsman, T. Fulton Gantt, who proceeded to show up the aims and objects of the order, which he did in a masterly manner for one not a member of the order. Next in line was the second annual masque ball given by Pahaska Tribe of Red Men on the evening of January 19, which was a grand success both socially and financially, the opera house being packed from floor to attic.

Some time ago our local coal-dealers formed a four-cornered ring. Customers must have spot cash or no coal. They said confidence was very shaky, and until the silver purchase clause of the Sherman act was repealed they would give no more credit. Well, the silver act is repealed, and as I supposed confidence was on par with cash once more, I proceeded to the coal yard the other day to order some coal. I gave the proprietor my order for a load of coal and asked him to send it the following day, which he promised to do. As I started to leave he called me back and said I had not left the cash. "Well," I says, "you told me some time ago that as soon as the silver clause was repealed confidence would be restored and you would be able to give your customers credit again." He said: "I know I did, but things are not quite down to a gold basis yet, but just as soon as the secretary of the treasury sells his fifty million dollars of five per cent bonds, confidence will be as good as cash." Well, Mr. Coal-dealer, we will see if your prediction comes true or not.

Work in the shops is very brisk just now, with some few men hired in different departments—one painter, one blacksmith, a few machinists, several helpers and laborers.

It was quite amusing last month to see the two straw bosses of the machine shop devising ways and means to get two more engines out for December than they had contracted for at the beginning of the month. It happened about like this: Big straw boss to little straw boss—"Say, Billy, I reckoned on getting six engines out this month, and I think by a little straining we can get out eight, ugh?" Says Billy: "I don't know where the straining is going to come in, for this shop floor is so plagued rough that I have wore one pair of shoes out this month already, and I can't afford any more this month unless I get a little extra time, for you will recollect the gang boss that was here before used to let me make all the way from forty to sixty days a month, and at that time I used to wear my overalls out a good deal at the rear end. Well, I don't know as it makes much difference whether it is shoes or overalls, I will do the best I can to get them out."

Billy starts down the shop and the first thing he happened to see was an old fellow named Pat. Billy, with a milk-and-water smile, commenced whistling for Pat, who paid no attention to the whistling, but kept on at his work, and finally, not drawing his attention, he goes over to him and says: "Say, Pat, didn't you hear me whistling for you?" "Be jabbers, I heerd someone whistling, but I thought it was a dog ye was after whistling for, and shure it is no dog I am. But faith I have worked at places where dogs were treated better than some men are here."

The other day the boss of the boiler shop thought he would try a streak of economy in putting boiler-makers doing helpers' work. The mechanics refused, on the ground that it was wrong in principle, and with justice to the help-

ers they were not going to scab on them then. The economic boss at this move promptly gave them to understand that to question his authority as to orders was an equivalent to discharge, and said they could either do as he ordered or quit, which they did on sight, notwithstanding the hard times.

We will see who will make the next stroke of economy, and report next month. BRUNO.

NORTH PLATTE, Neb., January 24, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

I am still staying in North Platte. I told you if I did not get my scalp taken you would hear from me again, for I am still alive, and looking over the city to see what I can find out. I think of staying here all summer now, as it agrees with my health.

I am informed that our band will have their new uniforms for the Red Men's ball on February 19, presented by our noble citizen, Mr. Cody, to the citizens of North Platte. If they had a few more like our friend Mr. Cody, I think they would have a city to look at, for he is not one of the faint-hearted. Now, boys, when you get your new suits on be careful not to blow up the town too much, as it would be a heavy loss to the insurance companies. But I do hope our friend John Bristell will select some of his best music for the occasion.

Now, Mr. Barnum, I do not like to interfere with your business in regard to the shop, but I must once more, in regard to your foreman. I have been informed that one of the oldest men in the shop received a message by wire that his mother was not expected to live, and he went and got permission to lay off. He went and found her very sick, and in a few days she departed from this world of sin. I was very sorry to hear of her death. But a day is set for us all, sooner or later. Now my old friend was detained by her death a few days, and on his return he came to work. I hear that the fox wanted to show authority over him and made him report to Mr. Barnum before he could start to work again. Now, to come out plain on your foreman, Mr. Barnum, if the men in that shop had taken him, tarred and feathered him, and sent him adrift, they would have done their duty. I am surprised at you, Mr. Barnum, the gentleman that you are, to allow a petty looking man like him to rule you. He used to try it hard on the other general foremen that were before you, and they stopped him right off. You would think, to hear him talk, that he was one of the ruling powers of the road. I would advise him to withdraw some of his stock from the Union Pacific road and not carry a big head as he does.

Mr. Editor, having nothing to do, I take the opportunity of looking over the city to see what improvements have been made since I was away. I find our great gardener has made a change. I find him starting at his garden already with a fine new plow. He was hard at work when I put my head over his fence with a dark lantern. Now, boys, look out for early vegetables. Yours truly, McGINTY.

GRAND ISLAND, Neb., January 28, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Often have I looked of late to see if the Grand Island correspondent had anything to say in the MAGAZINE, but he has been long silent, and perhaps a few short notes may be of interest to your readers. I will look backwards for a few weeks first and see what is on the roll here. The month of December was like October weather and so it has kept on up well in January, when we had the first touch of winter—a sort of blizzard with mercury down to twenty degrees below—but our good weather has come back. All things seem to move on in the same old track. A few of the old Knights of Labor boys stay together, so all is not dead.

The failure of the Citizens' National bank has caught quite a number of the boys with their little savings in it; and the prospect is that it will stay in the hands of the thieves, because it was only a steal and no law to reach them. Several poor widows had all their little savings deposited there, and these shylocks are now living on their hard earnings. But it is blood money and a just God will yet reach such men as these. Then the railway boys have been saving to pay on their homes, or to carry them over a hard winter or an accident or sickness. And these bandits only say it is gone. And yet it is plain that the bank officers had known for months that they were going down and had hedged to have a fat pile for themselves.

But the storm through the land is gathering. The low mutterings that are heard will grow louder and louder. Those who live on the blood of labor must feel it sooner or later for it will come. Remember the burning of the bastile in France.

□Our old master mechanic B. C. Howard went last fall to California for his health and for awhile news came that he was improving, but now it is reported that he is confined to his bed, much worse than at any time before. Ed Smith is in his place.

When the new depot was built a steam heater was put in the basement, and this required the coal to be wheeled and put in the basement and the ashes carried out by hand, and it did not give the satisfaction it should, besides making much extra work. All the other offices and rooms were heated by stoves—the oil house, carpenter shop, oil room, store room, soap room, roadmaster's office, conductor's room, telegraph office, dispatcher's office, yardmaster's office, water works office and freight depot. There was considerable danger of fire. They concluded to put in a steam plant and heat all by one fire.

The freight depot is 800 feet away. A building 16x30 feet was put up, a locomotive boiler put in and steam pipes in all their buildings and rooms. This was put up in December, and on January 1 the fire was built. Superintendent of Parks E. Corbin is in charge during the day and Mr. Reed at night. It is working finely—only on mild days some complain of too much heat.

There is also a set of air pumps and receiver put in to test the air breaks on cars and clean the flues to the boiler.

At the shops Hank Makely is turning out some fine looking cabooses and varnished cars.

The boys say there are plenty of work in sight.

Engine 900 is in for a course of repairs.

There was a little wreck in the yard the other night, the tender of engine 786 getting Corbettized. It was sent to Omaha.

Dell R. is taking a short lay-off. His brother Frank is in his place.

D. S. Beach, boiler washer at the round house and an emplo e of the company for eight years, died very suddenly last Saturday night, being sick only a few hours. He was forty-two years old. His trouble was said to be Brights disease. He leaves a young wife and six children by his first wife and two by his present wife. The funeral will take place Sunday afternoon. He was a member of A. O. U. W., carrying an insurance of $2,000. He was also a member of the fire department of this city. The funeral will be largely attended.

The company has commenced putting up their ice. It is shipped in from Gothenburg and is very fine. The ice here on the ponds is not very good, as the water is too low. Nine cars have arrived.

Sherman Cushman, of the blacksmith shop, was aeen ill very suddenly. Dr. Hoge was called and pronounced it neuralgia of the heart.

Elmer watch your dog or he will go for freight.

T. Lanktree was about town to-day.

We advise one of the clerks in the shop office to get Chesterfield and read—he may then learn a little about being a gentlemen—if his head does not get too large.

Time is called—more next month. X. I. X.

COLORADO KNIGHTS.

The gallant knights of story
Who at Ashley lifted lance,
And those who charged at Aincourt
O'er a bloody field's expanse,
Are silent now and voiceless;
And the record of their deeds
Is receding in the distant past,
Like the neighing of their steeds.

They are silent now and voiceless;
Ah, in silence let them lie,
For grander knights have risen
Neath our mountain-bordered sky;
These have stormed old Castle Prejudice
Spite its caitiff tenant's frown;
They have razeed its beetling battlements
And have pulled its turrets down.

And all the soft-cheeked prisoners
That long had lavished there;
They led from out those gloomy halls
To the sunlight fresh and fair.
And the brimming eyes of the rescued
Scanned the beauty of peaks and plains,
With a look that none will understand
Save those who have groaned in chains.
And all the dark retainers
Who to hold their prisoners toiled,
Fell back in wild disorder,
By freedom's champion foiled;
Then they saw their lofty castle
In reeling ruins fall,
While the plumes of the gallant victors
Waived triumphant over all.

O gallant knights! O noble knights!
Knights of a better day!
With your weapons of truth and justice
You have broken a tyrant's sway.
You have earned the deep devotion
Of the prisoned ones you freed,
And their love, their praise and honor
Are yours to the fullest meed.

You won the battle for a class
Whose helpless, shackled hands
Could yield no force to sever
Their thralldom's cruel bands.
We grant you this: The truest knight
That ever lays lance in rest,
Is he who takes up the quarrel
Of the helpless, the weak, the oppressed.

EMMA GHENT CURTIS.

Canon City, Colo.

THE CONDUCTOR'S STORY.

"When a man has been railroadin' twenty long years,
He gits kinder hardened an' tough,
An' scenes of affliction don't trouble him much,
'Cause his natur' is coarse like an' tough,
But a scene that took place on my train one cold night
Would a'melted the heart of stone,
An' among the adventures which I have been through
That night jist stands out all alone.

"'Twas a bitter cold night, an' the train was jam full,
Every berth in the sleeper was taken;
The people had jist turned in for the night,
An' the train for New York was a-makin',
When, jist as the people to snore had begun,
An' I with a satisfied sigh
Had sat down in a chair for a short rest, I heard
The sound of a young baby's cry.

"It was one o' those loud aggravatin' like yells,
O' the pattern that makes you jist itch
For a gun or an axe an' excites up your mind
With wild thoughts o' murder an' sich.
It went through that car, and I needn't remark
That the snorin' stopped right there an' then,
An' that sleeper was filled with a bilin' hot crowd
O' mad women and wild, swearin' men.

"The curtains just then that concealed berth 16
Were opened an' out come a man,
As fine a young feller as ever I seen,
But his face was all white like an' wan.

He carried the kid that was rasin' the row,
An' commenced walkin' down through the isle
A-tryin' to stop its loud schreechin'—but pshaw!
It seemed to get wuss every mile.

"An idea seemed to strike one old feller jist then,
And he said to the pale-faced young man,
'It seems to me, stranger, that kid could be stilled
By a simple an' feasible plan.
The noise that it's makin' betray what it needs—
The child wants its mother, that's plain:
An' why don't you call her? Ten chances to one
She's sleepin' somewhere on the train.'

"A look then came over that young father's face,
A look full of anguish an' pain,
A look that will haunt me as long as I live,
As long as I work on a train;
An' he answered that man, in a hoarse stifled voice
That sounded as though from afar:
'Her mother is sleeping on board of this train
In a box in the baggage car.'"

—Maurice E. McLoughlin in New York Herald.

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GEORGE STINSON & CO.,
Box 488,
PORTLAND, MAINE.

Continually pounding in one place is what counts; scattered blows produce more weariness than anything else.

UNION PACIFIC
EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

VOL. IX. MARCH, 1894. No. 2

THE RIGHTS OF RAILROAD EMPLOYES BEFORE THE COURTS.

The events of the past thirty days in railroad labor circles will undoubtedly have an important place in the history of the labor movement. The sight of the employes of a great railway system voluntarily entering the courts to contest there for their rights that, as a rule, since the beginning of history, workingmen have contested for by open resistance, by force—the strike—has attracted the attention of the civilized world. Even the most pronounced enemies of organized labor have been compelled to acknowledge that labor has rights that they have ever before denied. It was a step away from the servile position toward that of manhood and equality.

But to come from the court with full recognition of every claim they had contested for is a victory that will hardly be appreciated till the future events force forward the precedents there established in support of future moves on the same lines. To the rank and file of labor there is not the excitement in a contest by such methods as there is by the antiquated strike, consequently the importance of a success is not so quickly impressed upon the mind. Time must make up for what the heat and excitement of a strike would have caused.

It was an elevation of labor contests from the arena of force to that of reason. Not a contest to see whether the stomach could hold out long enough, but one where the brain, backing right principle, was brought into play.

In last month's issue we wrote just before the battle. We could but refer to the equitable principles upon which the employes rested their case. To us, then, they seemed so conclusive, that doubt of success rested only in the timidity that is caused by entering strange territory, and the cloud that has, in the popular mind, rested over our courts, from which so much that is dark has eminated.

The course pursued was the one we had advocated many

times before, the possibilities of good results having been pointed out on these pages in the issue of November last. It was hardly to be expected then that the men this MAGAZINE is so closely allied with would be the first called upon to make a practical demonstration of the ideas then advanced, though it was eminently fitting that they should be, and highly gratifying that they should be successful.

The history of the labor movement on the Union Pacific for the past ten years has indicated a progressive spirit predominating the action of all, and the action of the employes as a whole has been a series of progressive examples for others to follow.

The opinion and order of Judges Hallett and Riner, sitting at Denver for Colorado and Wyoming, which we publish on another page, may not indicate to all as much importance as is due it. One must be familiar with the opposition labor has had to contend against in times past to realize the importance. The main struggle has been to establish recognition of its claims. It was a long, hard struggle to bring employers and their representatives to confer with labor at all. They wished to maintain absolute dominion over those to whom they paid wages, to treat them as they choosed, pay them as they willed. And there was a long struggle before they would allow them to quit when they choosed, but as the supply was greater than the demand, that was immaterial. The supply made them independent of any possible injury from men leaving them. Against this united labor has struggled, until, under ordinary conditions, agreements covering much of such evils they were forced to consider and enter into; to maintain which, however, labor must maintain practically a standing army. Those rights they maintained had not the support society gives to what law and custom have established.

It was with that fact in view, which is supported by many preceding events, that the receivers of the Union Pacific system petitioned the court for an order allowing them to wipe out at one stroke all that long years of negotiations between corporations and employes' representatives had established, entrenching themselves behind the power of the court, to prevent the employes using any of the powers they have brought into play against similar moves when made by the corporations unsupported by the court.

A judge, who has the reputation of generally doing as their solicitor asks, is found to enter the order. Should it stand, the employes would be at the mercy of everyone that had the slightest authority over them. Principles established would amount to naught, combinations to resist would be practically powerless.

It was with the evident expectation that labor would adopt no other method than the one of force, so persisted in during past ages, for they embody in their petition for an order (and they are so sure of what the order will be that they have it printed before the judge signed it) an injunction restraining the employes from exercising that power, evidently satisfied they would be overawed by the majesty of the power of the court.

To come in as men, with the assurance that the sense of right gives, was most evidently unexpected.

The importance, then, of the result, lays in the fact that by the decision of the court the contractual rights of men combined as well as individually are recognized, and have the support of the powers that society in forming governments give; that the ground labor has gained in the past can be held paramount by that support; that they have a standing in court for the presentation and adjudication of their claims, as well as have the corporations; that they have no cause to tremble at the door of the court or be overawed by its majesty; that, as far as labor in interstate commerce business in the future is concerned, there seems to be no possibility of an occasion arising where the machinery of a strike would be of any use or need be called into action.

There is no question but what the principle involved in the decision of Judges Hallett and Riner are going to stand. It is on the side of justice, and what public policy demands. It separates in a degree the question of wages from that greater question of rights of men. It opens new avenues to advance. It forces men to bring their contests upon a higher plain, and consequently to fit themselves for that higher contest, and it leaves out the wages question altogether to artificial conditions, but establishes a sure means of arbitrating any differences over them. As far as employes of railroads are concerned, it settles the question of the establishment of compulsory arbitration.

The principle established is far greater than any number of strikes have been able to gain, though the agitation that strikes have caused were a necessary forerunner of such gains. It will compel labor to remodel the machinery of their organizations to conform to the new lines they will follow. The fear and distress that resort to strikes involve will have been done away with. The necessity of belonging to an organization will not carry with it uncertainties of continuous labor to any individual. Such fear has propagated scabs. There should in the future be fewer of such.

Who should be made responsible for the intention of the Dundy order? It may be well to give this consideration. We feel it rests entirely with that breed of octopuses that

thrive around New York and Boston. There was close family connection between affairs on the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific, and a wonderful similarity in the line of procedure, as far as that eminated from the receivers is concerned, though the action of the employes of the two systems was not parallel; why, may be made a good subject for discussion.

Men who were closely allied with the past practical management of the Union Pacific we would not hold responsible in face of the facts before us. The trip of Oliver W. Mink, of Boston, over the Union Pacific last summer, and subsequent events, seems to be indicative of the direction the spirit of the move eminated from.

But however, in face of results so far, railroad employes have no cause to be other than pleased. It has made the opportunity to open up new lines of action, with far brighter prospects of success than any they were following before. But none must think there is nothing more to be done, or their vigilance should in the least lax. The way has but been opened; it must be traveled until the farthest end is reached. The benefit lays in its use only. While there is a gain, there are additional duties. Such will be true of every gain made.

In the face of the decisions of Judges Hallett and Riner and the advice of Judge Caldwell of the circuit court, the receivers have persisted in circulating the order of Judge Dundy throughout the states where the order had not been entered, or had been denied. If the employes had been as busily preparing for a strike in resistance to the spirit of the Dundy order, how the powers of the courts would have been thundering about their heads! But it has been the employes who have been seeking this power, and the mandatory order of Judge Riner, on petition of the employes February 26, for the receivers to maintain in force, until further order of the court, all rules, regulations and schedules in force when the receivers were appointed in October, is a reversal of the proceedings that have usually been recorded. It will be the representatives of the corporations, and not the employes, who will be in contempt of court, if there be any.

The Union Pacific employes as a whole deserve the commendation of the civilized world for practically demonstrating that organized labor is something besides a mob, and that the principles it is contending for are justice, not charity, and of a nature that deserves consideration on the highest plane man has been able to reach. They have been pioneering the way; there is not the least excuse for men engaged in interstate commerce business to disregard the precedent and resort again to old methods.

And to refuse now to prepare themselves for the use of these new weapons will leave them open to nothing less than the charge of criminal carelessness. Leaders of labor who will not study such plans of action deserve to be dropped into oblivion as unfit for a place of trust. And so must all in the ranks of organized labor drop their petty jealousies, and pull together for a common purpose, rather than divide over who shall have the place of honor. Honor will come to all who strive to be honorable. Results is all that anyone can honestly wish for, and credit will be given to those who do the most to that end by common consent, in spite of all attempts to prevent it; and those who do the most will not be those who do not try.

LET US GET UPON A PRACTICAL FOOTING.

Employes of railroad corporations in the United States outnumber the wage-earners in any other one industry. Whatever is favorable or unfavorable to them, consequently, has a decided influence in a like direction on the conditions surrounding all others. To raise the standard of, approximately, one million men who are engaged in railroad service, will incidentally raise the standard of all wage-earners. Railroad employes are better situated, taken as a whole, than men engaged in any other industry, to carry out organized effort. From this view of it, a great responsibility in the movement to make the industrial world better, rest on the railroad employes of the United States. By acts of congress and court decisions they are, practically, *quasi* public servants. Incidentally that is being, and can be made greater, a powerful aid in the practical solution of the labor problem on the lines of labor organizations.

But that this may be done to the best advantage, or even done at all, a serious consideration must be given to the plan of operation of our organization, and to the practical machinery for carrying out their purposes. We are rising to that plane where the striking machinery can be of no use, and can be but a cumbersome impediment to progress. Nor can a dozen or more organizations be of any use.

To carry forward and defend labor, standing on an equality with capital before the law, which is the position labor should pursue now in view of the results of the struggle of the Union Pacific employes in the courts the past month, they would certainly be degrading themselves to allow a question effecting their rights and conditions to be considered on any lower level. Labor must defend its material interests with a united front, and too, it must be prepared to use intel-

ligence as its principle weapon. Unless such a footing is assumed, it will matter not how much the way is opened for advancement, none will be made.

It ought to be considered as a pure business proposition. Men certainly would not expect to get results by each paying in an equal amount of money to establish an industry from which they expected to get products in return, and then leaving the money in a safe place, or the machinery which it has purchased, without men, capable, in charge to manage it. Some plan of operating the business would have to be adopted, even if all financially interested took a practical hand in it.

Many of the methods that successful corporations have adopted have got to be followed in the immediate practical work of our labor organizations. It is to be greatly hoped that a time will come when this labor question in its practical phases can be eliminated from the affairs of society, but this generation at least is not going to be able to do it or see it done. There are, consequently, the every-day practical features of it that have got to be considered *now*. There is no way to escape from it. It is the "bread and butter" question. We ought to, then, do so in the best possible manner. We certainly are not at present prepared to carry on the practical management of our affairs.

There are two principal features of this social-labor problem that must be considered. The most immediate, though by no means the most important, is the every-day part that deals with the question in its business or financial sense; that must meet the question of the practical relations between employer and employe. Just such as the organized Union Pacific employes have been dealing with before the United States circuit court the past month, of which there is going to be more of the same kind done in the near future.

Then there is that greater, that which deals with the reasoning powers of man, that makes him capable to advance, and to open the way to advance, the equal growth of which only makes him in reality the equal of other men. By it alone labor is to rise to its fullest dignity. It is a social force. It is not directed against any particular class, but exercises its force by application to all, by its general influence. The growth of this alone, marks the progress of society. That is the greater work of labor organizations, but it is ever an immeasurable quantity.

Debates on social questions, or any of the sciences which spreads knowledge, is practical work done in this latter feature. The fraternity that our brotherhoods of labor are *supposed to propagate* is also such work. It breaks down

personal animosities that arise from any cause, and makes the individual broader.

The question is, can all this be practically carried on through one organization? We believe it could be, but practical attempts have not proved successful. There is a personal equation to be considered. There is a disposition among men to choose their own associations; there is not that similarity among mankind to cause all to like the same environments. One man could enjoy a purely scientific lecture on some particular branch of the sciences; others in other lines, while others yet would be pleased at none of this. The practical workings, then, of our labor organizations demonstrates that men will maintain their membership in their labor organizations for the defense or business feature of it, and will in no way care for the educational or the social feature of it. They will find their wants in that line in other directions. And while such is not a pleasant consideration, it is a fact, nevertheless, and one that must be taken into consideration in the planning and operation of the social force of labor. There are plenty of men who will read a work on sociology that would be totally disinteresting to another; therefore, a formula cannot be made that all can be brought to conform to—no guage can be made to fit all. Everything that is tending to set men thinking is a force on the educative side of the labor question. Men are becoming advanced advocates in social reform who know nothing of the practical features of the relations between employer and employe, between master and servant. And the fact that many of them are so advanced, rests on the fact that they have not been hampered by dealing with the every-day practical feature of the social problem. They have brain force sufficient to realize what are causes and what are effects, and in seeing them, seek relief and remedies.

All who have been forced into the lead in dealing with the practical labor question, should consider all these features and their bearing on the practical results wanted in the future.

We have about come to the conclusion that the two features referred to above cannot be practically dealt with by one management; that the every-day practical feature can be, as in a measure the personal equation, the influence of personal and class animosities that handicap the movement as at present carried on, cannot be brought into a pure business feature as well as when the social is combined with it.

There has got to be a greater unity of labor if the every-day practical features are to be cared for with any degree of certainty. And if these every-day features are not cared for, man will soon lose his foothold on which he can gain intel-

lectual powers and advancement. Consequently, this every-day feature is very important. It is the first question for consideration, just as the feeding of a child is to be considered before its education is.

How can this be done the best, and at the same time in no way hamper the full use of man's powers to advance socially and intellectually? This is a practical question that demands immediate attention.

Considered from the standpoint of labor as conditioned in railroad service, considering the forms already in the field, we would suggest the proposition for the consideration of all, as follows: Let the organizations already in the field stand, if their membership choose, carrying on their fraternal, insurance and educational features; all practical factors in the question of life.

Let the practical every-day feature that all of these have been considering to a greater or less extent be concentrated by representatives from each into one, and let this be on each system of railroads. This could be incorporative under act of congress of June, 1886, so that it would have a permanent footing. Each of the many organizations could be members of such corporation, whose business would be to deal with the every-day labor affairs of the employes of a railway system. The board of directors would be the general grievance, adjustment or executive committee, from which the practical management of daily affairs would eminate. There would be in fact the creation of no new organization with all its machinery for dealing with questions, nor would it be creating any new salaried offices to be supported. It would interfere in no way with any fraternal or social work of any existing organization no more than now membership in the Masons, Odd Fellows, or any other purely fraternal organization, interferes with the duties of membership in labor organizations. In fact, present labor organizations would take a special feature of such fraternal orders. Means could be provided whereby men isolated, or who did not care to belong to any special order, could be members of the corporation and reap the benefits arising therefrom. The machinery for handling such a business arrangement could be simple, and so that none of the dangers arising in political forces of a similar nature could arise. The initiative and referendum in all its laws and offices could be instituted. It would concentrate into the management of practical affairs, the very brightest intellects among men, and it would in no way retard the general intellectual advancement of mankind.

However, whatever the objections may be to such a plan, or any plan, something must be done to concentrate the labor forces on railroads for dealing with the practical daily features

that confront them, and it cannot be expected to be done on the town-meeting plan. A mass meeting is a poor place to expect to get practical executive results. A mob is a poor force against drilled men who understand their business. Whatever is done it must be with the view of closeness of operation, and nothing on a plan that is loose and unwieldy.

The corporations have the brightest brains obtainable looking after their practical interests. Labor must do likewise. It will command respect in proportion as it does; it will gain the dignity that is due it in proportion as it commands it. The practical labor question on railroads in the future is not going to have the machinery of the strike as a backing feature to it. It will be fought out in the forums established by the people for the settlement of other difficulties that arise between men.

We have now taken a long step in forcing the question out of the stigma of being one between master and servant, to one between man and man. Let us show ourselves capable of maintaining such a position by going at it in as manly a way as the dignity of the position demands, and as we would expect those to whom we would give respect to do.

A WORD REGARDING THE WORK OF OUR COUNSEL.

Success of the employes in the late legal contest was largely due to the careful, earnest work of the attorneys engaged by the employes. No lawyers in the United States could have been an improvement. There is a large amount of buncombe surrounding the employment of famous advocates. While doing no better service, they succeed on their reputation in getting big fees. Great orators may be good to influence a jury of twelve men, but a judge wanting to know the merits of a case wants information laid plainly before him. In the present case the one best posted on the conditions surrounding workmen, who has made a study of the economic conditions effecting them, is the most capable one to present the case. And T. Fulton Gantt, of North Platte, was just such a man. While a practicing lawyer for years, he has worked in a shop and on the road, and has been a member of labor organizations and served on their committees in the adjustment of difficulties. There is not much difference between laying a case before a court than before an employer.

Judge John H. Croxton, of Denver, is a lawyer of the old school, and has for years been a prominent advocate in the social-labor-political reform movement, and he threw the whole weight of his experience as lawyer in the application

of his profession into the movement for the rights of men, in which he has voluntarily been agitating for years.

George L. Hodges, who was called into the struggle on recommendation of Judge Croxton, was totally unknown to any of the representatives of the employes, but from the moment he took hold he inspired all with confidence in him, and this did not lessen by longer and closer acquaintance. On him fell much of the hard work in the preparation of the answer and petitions, and while they had to be prepared on the spur of the moment, which is rarely the case in so important a legal proceeding, their thoroughness is commented on by all who are judges of such matters.

We have no hesitancy in saying that a better combination of support could not have been secured if the country had been scoured.

New legal precedents have been established as the result of this move, and while the men interested and engaged therein may be forgotten in the years to come, the principle established in this case will be referred to as long as our present system of jurisprudence stands. It is one effecting the masses; it is one that places them on higher ground. And it is particularly gratifying to all who know the history of Mr. Gantt's stand with and for the toilers in the past, when it was decidedly unpopular, and when men in his profession generally scorned the idea of mingling with workingmen, to know that finally he could be with the lead and in the practice of his profession when such precedents were established. It is not going to be so unpopular to take the labor side in the future.

We have nothing derogatory to say of opposing counsel. Mr. Thurston was working for his employers. Yet it would seem if he had been studying the signs of the times, the changes of thought that are taking place, he would have realized it was all having its effect even on the courts, who are forced to recognize what custom and time proves beneficial and good, and consequently would have counselled a different line of action. The plutocratic minds around Boston may have advised it, still western progressiveness ought to have overcome it. To have allowed to be passed as recognized law of the land the principles involved in the Dundy order, would have been setting the world back many generations. It would leave the employe of a railroad corporation as helpless to keep off tyranny as a mule that is used in the construction of the road-bed. The defense of labor organizations would amount to nothing. The individual could quit, but not always, as he might choose, and it could be but to accept similar conditions under someone else. There was *much at stake in this* contest. It is not to be estimated in

dollars and cents. A reduction in wages can be regained, if men can remain on a footing from which they can act, when the conditions are right, but when the right to that foothold are taken away along with a reduction, the prospects to regain it are rather gloomy. It is the right of organization, the contractual rights of employes of a corporation united and recognition through representatives, the justice of their having something to say regarding the conditions surrounding their employment, and the rules and regulations governing the same, which has received recognition by the courts, and stands with the force of law that has been established by this contest. The principle will be applied in a hundred ways in the industrial struggles of the future. Union Pacific men can well be proud of being pioneers in this, and their counsel for having had a hand in the work. The immediate results may not be realized by all, and its full benefit may not come to all at once, but time will bring it. It has opened a way whereby the agony and distress and expense of strikes can be avoided; it can leave no stings behind, to be settled by revengeful efforts in the future on either side. There can be no excuse for personal feelings between representatives of corporations on the one side, and the employes on the other, after such a contest. But rather ought to encourage the propagation of that spirit of co-operation so necessary to the success of any industry. In such contests there can be no accusations stand that one side has taken undue advantage of the other. It is the establishment of practical arbitration without the introduction of any new and complicated machinery into our social relations. The honest railroad manager will regard this with as much favor as any, but the one who tries to cover up poor business managing abilities by tyranny over his workmen, will be otherwise. He will foresee the days of his usefulness are numbered.

It is strange how prejudice in the minds of many men will prevent them taking advantage of an opportunity to gain ground justly theirs. Prejudice against a class will prevent them accepting any benefit that might come through that class. With such there is either a dishonest heart or they are totally incapable of knowing the spirit of the golden rule, of equity. There is nothing so bad that there is not something good in it. There is nothing so bad that the good in it should not be made use of when the opportunity arises. Nor is humanity so wise as to be sure judges as to what is good or bad. The stone the builders rejected may be found later the proper one for the corner. The best test is experience. The surest way to progress is to make an attempt to move.

CONDEMNING JUDGES.

The Ricks, Jenkins and Dundy decisions and orders have given cause for many to give vent to expressions of contempt, and a great many are condemning these men in words that the vocabulary of the English language is hardly sufficient to meet.

But since the Union Pacific employes have been granted a hearing in Colorado, Wyoming and other courts, I am inclined to believe a great injustice has been done the courts in the past. If the courts are venal or unjust to the common people, we alone are to blame. If the charges made against the judges be true, we should know it. And the only way to find out if this be true is to give the judges an opportunity to put themselves on record. The way to do this is not to wait until we are brought into the courts by peace officers for contempt, but to volunteer to take our cases before them and ask that our rights as citizens be maintained

As a rule I believe judges are as honest as any other class of people. In all stages of society we find exceptions, and I believe among the honorable judges of this country Judge Cox of Washington, D. C., is an exception. I have nothing personal to say against this man. I know nothing of his character except as I gather it from the press reports. If these can be relied on, I am afraid to believe he is entirely honest, for fear that I might underestimate him intellectually, and overestimate him morally.

Judge Cox has immortalized himself as rendering the last decision of the kind that will ever be rendered. He is the last of his race; no more can be born that would deny men their rights as free American citizens simply because "they are only laborers," because "they are not owners of mines" or railroads. Because, as this judge claims, "we have not even shown that we pay taxes with which bonds are to be redeemed."

Half the railway employes on the various systems and within the jurisdiction of the judges—excepting Judge Cox's jurisdiction—adopted the same methods that were on the Georgia railroad in Judge Speer's court, and the men on the Union Pacific in the courts of Judges Hallett and Riner.

I believe Judges Ricks, Taft, Jenkins, and even Judge Dundy, would have rendered different decisions or modified their orders.

Judges are selected to enforce laws, not to criticise them. Whenever there are bad laws enacted the common people usually never find it out until they are enforced. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were the first to learn that the interstate commerce laws as amended by Senator Cullum, and endorsed by their organization, were bad. Because, as the Knights of Labor committee of which Ralph Beaumont was chairman said, when they asked Grover Cleveland to veto the Cullum bill, it was a conspiracy law against organized labor. The Union Pacific employes have established a precedent by which this same law may now be used against an organized conspiracy of corporation officials.

Judge Ricks in the Clover Leaf decision gave the employes thirty days to prepare an answer to the new schedule, which they failed to prepare. Judge Jenkins for the Northern Pacific receivers issued an order simular to that issued by Judge Dundy. The order of Judge Jenkins was less sweeping than that of the Nebraska judge. Northern Pacific employes were not deprived of their rules and regulations that gave them the right of appeal to the superintendent, master mechanic, and from them to the higher officials. They were simply given a new schedule reducing their wages; they still have the right to go before the higher officials when times get better, and ask for the restoration of their former rates of wages.

The Northern Pacific men, instead of going into the courts as they were advised for the purporse of showing the injustice of a reduction, kept right on meeting along the line to discuss the necessity of a strike, and their general

officers came to the rescue to materially assist them. Like many others, instead of giving the judge an opportunity to redeem himself in their estimation, they added fuel to the flames by condemning the judge.

Judge Dundy's order was the most unfair, because it would have wiped out of existence all contracts, agreements, rules and regulations for conditions of employment and conditions of treatment of employes. This would have left the latter at the mercy of tyrannical bosses, who then could discharge men and reduce wages at their own discretion, or whenever they wished to add another feather to their plumes to gain favor in the eyes of their superiors.

The Union Pacific employes went into the courts to prevent the manufacture of "Plumed Bosses." Our case is now before the "jury," the "general public," and we can almost guess the verdict.

For those who have not shown a disposition to be tyrannical, we may have cause to establish a safeguard through the same source—the court—so that when their superiors in position should take it into their heads to issue tyrannical orders, the inferiors in position may be excused for not enforcing them for fear that they may be held for contempt of court, with which we were threatened in Judge Dundy's order.

Even the Nebraska judge, I believe, would have modified his now "famous order," if he had been allowed to hear the answer of the defendants. If those who were most directly affected by the proposed new schedules had taken sufficient interest in their own affairs, or if they had taken the precaution that was taken in the Colorado courts, I cannot believe that Judge Dundy would have issued the order as it now stands.

Before he is condemned he should have had a chance to properly place himself on record like Judge Cox. Then we could, with justice, say that he too has added the last mile stone on that road. But not knowing the Union Pacific employes, he no doubt underestimated their intelligence.

I feel that he has done us a great service; second only to the receivers. We should all feel grateful for the lesson we have once more been taught, viz.: If employes can be brought into courts as defendents, it necessarily gives them the right to get there as claimants. I rejoice that they have taught us how to avoid the dreadful strike. Because, when men strike, even if they are right, they are not so sure they will win. Public sentiment is too often opposed to the strike, and it is high time we gave public opinion credit for being correct in this. When men strike the loss of time is of great importance, but the chance of losing and being black-listed all over the country, and classed as unreliable, adds more to the vast burden of the average striker.

Compare your contributions to the defense fund to a long or continued strike, and the amount will seem almost invisible to the naked eye.

Judges, like other men, are possessed with similar human traits; in addition they hold honorable positions. With the exception of Judge Cox, I believe they intend to do that which is right and just. Their opinions, like those of others, are arrived at in a like manner—by thought.

Thoughts are motions of the brain, and it is one of nature's unchangeable laws, for motion to follow the line of least resistance. It matters not, whether it is the motion of the brain, a stone rolling down hill, or a stream flowing through a channel. The continued use of the channel by the stream tends to widen it; this reduces the resistance to the line of motion. It is the same with thought. Instead of condemning judges, let us continue to aid the common people to build immense dams across this stream of thought, this line of motion, and in course of time the opinions of judges will again wear away a channel along the deepest line, but in another direction. We can materially assist them in cultivating a line of thought and action that will at least benefit the greater number.

Some judges may be like some ministers who buy their sermons already printed. I feel sorry for a judge who has his opinions stored in his law library in a case like the one brought into the courts on February 7, 1894, at Denver, Colo. Because, such a judge would, as usual, follow the easiest path, and give us unusual cause to feel sorry that we were unable to build a dam of sufficient dimensions to change the flow of the oceans of thought contained in his immense library.

Judge Dundy's order has become "famous" because it was intended to widen the old channel more than all others; because of its sweeping character. The future history of Nebraska will never be complete without a record of this fact. Nor will the history of Colorado and Wyoming be complete without a record of the cause that led to the first decisions of Judges Hallett and Riner on February 8, 1894.

Future posterity may have cause to revere these names, and with fitting ceremony celebrate the anniversary of this date. H. BREITENSTEIN.

Laramie, Wyo.

The fire which occurred in our office and manufactory yesterday will not delay us in any way in filling orders.

We have already moved into more extensive quarters, with seventy-five mechanics at their benches.

All of our departments are running in full force. Our supply of fine printed matter is temporarily cut off, but this does not effect the good qualities of the "Old Reliable" in the least. Before this is read we will be shipping Incubators and Brooders as before.

RELIABLE INCUBATOR AND BROODER COMPANY.

QUINCY, February 22, 1894.

Renegades are always the most bitter against their former comrades.

Half of the world's thinking is but an echo of inherited ideas.

THE BRUTE IN MAN.

Rev. Myron W. Reed's morning sermon, January 28, 1894, was as follows:

And David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem.

Young David was not satisfied to kill his enemy. He must chop his head off and then take it home with him to exhibit it. It was a trophy. Young David was in about the same frame of mind as an old-fashioned Sioux. But age, experience and the trial of life mellowed David. The same hand that carried home the head of his enemy holding it by the hair came in due time to write the twenty-third Psalm—"The Lord is My Shepherd."

We are familiar with this evolution of the individual. Jacob makes a bad beginning. His prayer on his way from a home he has made miserable is a poor prayer.

It is a kind of bargain that if the Lord will do so and so and prosper him in a worldly way, keep him safely and make him rich, then he will be the Lord's friend. But when he is old he has risen out and above all that. At last he says: "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord." The strength of the old man is no longer in flocks and herds. The things that are visible are floating away. The things that are eternal shine out.

His first prayer is a poor one. It is a boy's prayer. He does not pray "make me a good man," but "make me a rich man." Life comes along with its experience and he is drawn and driven on God. There is no one else in sight. "I have waited for thy salvation, O God." All is well that ends well.

Christopher North (Professor Wilson), teacher of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburg, amused himself in his undergraduate days by fighting cabmen and coal-heavers.

Walter Scott's novels are never peaceful. His thoughts ran on tournament and battle and siege. Take the fights out of his stories and they fall flat. But his last word was to Lockhart, his son-in-law: "Be a good man."

Bishop Selwym, the missionary hero of the English church, was a famous stroke in a university crew. As a missionary he had a rubber bag in which he carried his ecclesiastical uniform.

When he came to a river he swam it, pushing his rubber grip ahead of him, and dressed for church on the other side.

Nearly all small boys and some small girls are cruel; they do not mean to be, but they are. It is a phase like the phase of the moon. They will outgrow the delight in tormenting as soon as they reflect.

We move out of one phase into another gradually. I know a friend very fond of shooting, but in the later years of his life he hunted without a gun. He preferred to see things alive; did not think it right to cut shorter a short life; was very glad to see me miss a deer, although there was nothing but side meat in camp.

There is the Indian-fighting stage of life. The boy wishes plenty of action and blood in the story. I was raised on that kind of a story. The family was full of legends. As a child I had some cider and some nut cakes and some butternuts, and heard a hair-raising story of an Indian war and so was dismissed to bed, to be later on carefully tucked up by my mother, gentle daughter of an Indian fighter.

This old nature is in the most of us. Once in a while there is a child who is gentle, humane from the beginning. I have seen them, but not often. As a rule the baby is a savage. He reaches out for all there is in sight.

I remembered one, who, twenty years ago, when he was wheeled about Milwaukee, insisted that he wanted the lake. All he wants now is $50 a month and a clean card from his school. I remember the first time he saw death It was a dead rabbit, and he put his baby hand on him and said: "I wish he would run."

The two natures are in all or the most of us. And they are in perpetual conflict. "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another." There is the old Adam, older than China, and there is Jesus Christ.

There is no necessity in this evolution from wrath into love. There is no certainty that the cruel child will result in a benignant old man. David has something to do for himself. Fate will not altogether help him to write the twenty-third Psalm.

Education has its limitations. I was much surprised years ago to find that the eminent beast and fiend, Emperor Nero, was a finely educated human. He was an architect, astronomer, musician and very fond of the classics. His last words before the eminent coward killed himself was a quotation from Virgil, "Struck is the ear with the sound of the hurrying hoofs of the horses." He was probably the banner scoundrel of the world.

I saw in the New Orleans library a portrait of Napoleon. It is not like any other. He has a lip on him like that of a Massasuger snake that I used to meet with now and then when binding wheat in Wisconsin—a merciless, implacable mouth.

The librarian said that there was a death mask of him in the mercantile library at St. Louis, and the other day we found it. It is the face of the devil, pitiless as the Arctic ocean in the coldest day.

Here, then, is evolution backward. Napoleon started a republican, even a democrat. Robespierre at 22 was too softhearted to consent to be prosecuting attorney. It is evident that the personal human will comes in. There is no law of evolution that will of itself turn a savage into St. John. There is no law that will lift mankind unwillingly into purer manners, better laws, and so ring out the old and ring in the new.

Abraham Lincoln is the product of no law. He is no necessity. He is a free will, choosing the right and taking his chances.

We cannot trust the law of evolution to lift us as dead weight. There is as

powerful a law of degeneration and of extinction.

There is no rise or movement except where there is a human will behind it, and toil and sacrifice. In the unconscious world below us life dies that life may continue. There is the cross in nature An ant, who does not know any better or worse, makes a home for her children and provisions it, and dies out of the way. It would be heroic if she knew what she was doing.

We do or we do not do the same thing. We know what we do!

But what I started out to talk about was the fight at Jacksonville and the survival of the savage among us. I hope I am a civilized man and even an enlightened man, but I was not late in finding out the result of that fight. In the first place I wanted the American to win. I confess that is insular and provincial and barbaric and one-sided. With my mind and my conscience I do not believe in any kind of fighting; and then there is another side of me that goes out where there is a telephone to get the earliest returns of this battle.

One of the gentlest and most amiable of our Denver ladies reached her head out of a window to ask me how the battle had gone.

Here we are, a mixture of the old and the new. And the old is strong. The national spirit is strong.

There is a certain fascination in any kind of strength or skill. St. Paul in his letters and speeches makes no mention of natural scenery. It seems to have made no impression on him. And he mentions only one work of art. But he had an eye for games. He notes running, wrestling, fighting. His illustrations show the way his eyes were.

I never see the foot ball eleven march in and line up that I do not think of the old gladiators:

"Hail, Cæsar! We, about to die, salute thee!"

We like to see or hear of a man who goes cleverly through his work. No matter what the character of his work may be, if he does it perfectly well we have a kind of respect for him. He is a good workman. If I had to hang a man I would have a rope that would not break and a knot that would not slip, and then give the job over to some subordinate.

Men admire a good job.

People stand with a certain respect about the grave of Jesse James. The rough rider is asleep in the corner of his mother's front yard. I felt the same as I would feel at the grave of Jay Gould or at the grave of any other distinguished wrecker and robber.

The only man who comes out of this Jacksonville business with no credit and all of the discredit, is the governor of Florida. He said the fight should not take place. He called out the state guard, and the fight did take place. St. Paul says: "So fight I, not as one that beateth the air."

What so painful all around as the kick that misses?

We do things better in Colorado. Our governor said he would call the legislature together, and I come home and find them here. There is something for them to do. They can wipe out our infamous attachment and chattel mortgage laws and nearly all the people will say amen. It is always in season to do a good thing. In 1893 there were three people evicted in one American city to one in the whole of Ireland. There is plenty for a legislature to do.

Since I lived in New Orleans two monuments have grown. One is General Robert E. Lee, favorite soldier of the Confederate armies, gentleman and soldier. His monument is high in air. One has to fall back a square to see the bronze image of the great captain from whom General Grant was great enough not to receive his sword.

The other monument has carved upon it simply the name "Margaret." Margaret was a woman of the common people, who began making money by selling food on the levee. She was thrifty and finally made a great deal of money and gave it away for the comfort of poor children—the waifs of the great city, the children of neglect.

In a little park near where my church stood, Margaret sits in white marble, with her strong, protecting arm thrown around a marble child image of one who, like De Quincy, called the granite street his stony step-mother. The statue of Margaret is within reach of your hand, level with the people.

Here are Lee and Margaret. Bismarck and Florence Nightingale.

Alfred Tennyson sings: "Let the ape and tiger die." They die slow. But my friend and I, neither of us ethereal or sentimental beings, took a longer look at Margaret than at Robert E. Lee.

Love is longer lived than wrath; peace is better than war.

AMPUTATION BY INCHES.

Workingmen! Every man who lives on rent, profits or interests is on your backs. The time has come to speak the plain truth about the labor movement. The desperate condition of one-half of the workingmen of this country should put an end to these shilly-shally measures of compromise and moderation. To say that half a loaf is better than no bread is to choose dying by degrees to being killed at once. It is better that an innocent man should be hanged than roasted, but it is a crime just the same to have him hanged. If a man owes you a dollar you are not satisfied if he gives you ten cents and tells you a few crumbs are better than no bread. And those who are holding on to the coat-tails of any mayor, bishop, senator or capitalist, and pleading for miserable driblets and fractions of justice, are serving the workingmen in the same way that the little boy served his dog when he cut off his tail an inch at a time to save the poor dog from pain.

They are as foolish as the child who would sooner have a penny to-day than a dollar next week. We are not dogs to be satisfied with an occasional bone, and instead of bowing and scraping to our masters for every pitiful fragment of restitutional charity, we must demand our full and perfect freedom from the tyranny of private monoboly and the heartless crush of competition.

Tolstoi says that the position the wealthy occupy is that of the old man of the sea—riding on the back of the workingman. The only difference is that a few of them are very sorry for the poor man, and they will do almost everything for him, give him advice, and council, and free breakfasts, and food enough generally to keep him on his legs, but they never think for a moment of getting off his back.

Carnegie says that capital is the *twin-brother* of labor. It is to-day as good a brother to labor as Cain was to Abel; and any man lies who asserts that the interests of the capitalist and the workingman are the same. Their interests are opposite; they are enemies; and the labor movement is the beginning of the second civil war.

We are in the midst of the last and greatest class struggle. The Magna Charta liberated the nobility; the American and the French revolution liberated the middle class; and we are now struggling to free the largest and last of all classes—the working men and women. Under the wage system workingmen are as much a class as if they were all negroes. The fact of working for wages is a stronger bond than nationality, or politics, or creed.

What business have workingmen to fraternize with their oppressors? We have the power of numbers on our side, and the omnipotence of truth and justice. We must come out from among the sneaks and robbers, and be separate. No one but a fool would ask the devil's help to conquer hell.

We have blamed the "system" long enough for the crimes of individual capitalists.

"To excuse the sinner and expose his vice, is to excuse the gambler and condemn his dice."

The "system" that is crushing the workingmen upon the rocks of destitution is made up of a certain definite number of individual capitalists, whose names and addresses may be obtained from the report of last census.

A "system" is like a glove, it can do nothing without an individual hand in it. Sentimental or cowardly people tell us that capitalists are the irresponsible products of the "system," and so must not be attacked. But murderers are the product of the "system" too; why not, therefore, take them into the highest society and overlook their inevitable faults? If we are to pardon individual capitalists, then every brutal ravisher should be set free.

It is both absurd and false to talk as if the "system" were a huge inanimate weight that crushes millionaire and workingman alike. Granted that our business system is vicious and inhuman,

which it certainly is, must it not be the worst members of society who will naturally rise to the top? The devil takes the foremost, not the hindmost.

Men are divided just now into two distinct and opposite classes—the one few but rich and powerful, and the other numerous but poor. The one class is on top and the other underneath, and our aim is to shake the small oppressing class down to the level ground.

Therefore, when Churches, or Fabians, or Nationalists, or Single Taxers, or Christian Socialists, or any other "reformers" appeal for aid to the capitalist class, they exhibit ignorance of the real nature and object of the labor movement. Those who prate about "living on the enemy" are generally corruptionists, who wish to "spoil the Egyptians" only that they may get a share of the plunder. No soldier of labor can receive help from the enemy without compromising either his principles or his manhood. It is time for us to throw away our crutches and walk on our legs. —Herbert N. Casson in *The People.*

MONEY.

The false position money has been permitted to assume as a supplier of the necessities and luxurious tastes of society has begotten the impression that money is the chief wealth. But truly considered how far this conclusion is from fact! Gold and silver bear but mean relation to those wants of man upon which life depends; intrinsically they are, as an application to his temporal necessities, less valuable than the simplest weeds by the wayside. Can a man eat, or drink, or wear gold? But for the fictitious value allowed to it, what pleasurable impression would it produce upon any of the senses more than any shining substance?

The greatest wealth of the nation, or any individual, does not lie in temporal association or estate to both nations and individuals, but consists in those elements by which the necessities of human life are most surely satisfied. To the wanderer famishing in the desert, the greatest treasure would have been food and drink; he casts pearls aside with disgust, praying they had been dates. It must be evident to everyone that the temporal wants of men and nations are food and raiment, and especially food—deprive them of these, and all other possessions would be entirely useless. The capacity to supply these wants, in spite of indigence, is a wealth and power which gold and silver possesses not. Real capital is labor, and labor brought in contact with the earth, in its various capacities, is the creator, as it should be the distributor, and the most substantial of all temporal wealth.—*Boston Investigator.*

Now that the courts have decided that the railway employes cannot strike to improve their condition, or prevent a reduction of wages, we wonder if they will decide to do the only thing that remains for them to do—vote for government ownership of railroads? The post-office employes are not organized as a labor union, neither do we hear of any injunction by Uncle Sam in the courts to prevent a strike. Can't any laborer of sense see what is the matter? Put the railroads in the hands of the government and there will be no necessity for striking. The most effective strike is a strike at the ballot box. Vote for government ownership of railroads, and all the ills of railway employes will cease. Vote for government money and against a gold basis, and no private enterprise will suffer on account of reduced earnings and consequent reduction of the wages of employes. We are in thorough sympathy with labor in general, but we cannot have much sympathy for an individual laborer who will "whereas" and "resolute" himself out of a condition, and then go to the polls and vote himself into it. This is in a measure just what a large part of our laboring people are doing For God's sake, wake up, and work intelligently to extricate yourselves from this industrial and political slavery. Be men.—Tacoma Sun.

THE WORKINGMAN'S PRAYER.

O, Almighty Andrew Philanthropist Library Carnegie, who art in America when not in Europe spending the money of your slaves and serfs, thou art a good father to the people of Pittsburg, Homestead and Beaver Falls. We hail thy name as the great Steel King of the world. We bow down before thee in humble obedience of slavery. When thou sayest before a banquet of nabobs that the laboring man of America wants more than the average laboring man of other countries gets to live on, thou sayest what is right. We have no desire but to serve thee. If thou sayest black was white we believe you, and are willing, with the assistance of the Pittsburg *Dispatch* and the Pinkertons' agency, to knock the stuffin' out of anyone who thinks different, or to shoot down and imprison serfs who dare say you have been unjust in reducing the wages of your slaves, who call themselves citizens of the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Of course we all know that we are not chattel slaves. O, no, we are free slaves; so free that if we cannot support a family on one dollar and twenty cents per day we can starve or commit suicide. O, Carnegie, we are but dogs that eat of the crumbs that fall from the Carnegie, Phipps & Co.'s tables; when the crumbs fall we wag our tails; when they fall fast we wag our tails faster; when they do not fall at all, we live on the surplus we have accumulated at one dollar and twenty cents per day.

This is freedom. This is the kind of freedom that the immortal Abraham Lincoln had intended for American laboring people to enjoy. O, most adorable Carnegie, we love thee because thou art the almighty iron and steel king of the world; thou who so much resembles the Pharasee; true thou dost not give alms to charity, for that would have a degrading effect on your slaves, and the slaves that would receive charity from you. It is so much better to give it to the city of Pittsburg, so that they can pay one dollar per day for laboring and you can pay your poor slaves on the same basis. But, O Carnegie, we love the laws that created thee and thy millions, so we humbly surrendered ourselves to thy mercy last Friday. But, O master, we know thou will not take any undue advantage of us, for we know thou art merciful; we know thou will not shoot us down like savages if we do not strike. O master, we will not, for we, your humble servants, do not desire to mar the pleasure trip to Egypt; we do not want any news to reach thee like the Homestead slaughter. But should the Association arise, we, your slaves, and Pinkerton detectives, will soon suppress anyone who dares tread on the rights of such a good master.

O lord and master, we love thee because you and other great masters of slaves favor combines and trusts to enslave and make paupers of us all. We love thee though our children are clothed in rags. We love thee though our wives, the dearest companions of our hearts and of our miserable lives, are so scantily dressed and look so shabby. But, O master, thou hast given us one great enjoyment which man never dreamed of before—a free church organ, so that we can take our shabby families to church to hear your great organ pour forth its melodious strains. O, what a healing effect it has on the soul; but O what an awful amount it takes to fill the empty stomach of our hungry wives and children. O what an amount of it it takes to buy clothes and shoes, and pay house rent and buy coal. But, O master, the music is so nice it enables us to work so much the harder, for we knowest some one will have to pay for those organs. Did ever a dog serve his master more faithfully? Did ever a dog get less for it?

We thank thee and the combines for the hungry men, women and children of the land. We thank thee and thy combines for the low price of iron and steel, and the low price paid in iron and steel works. We thank thee for being able to bull and bear the iron and steel market

as you so desire, and crush other smaller concerns to the wall. All we ask is to be patted on the back by one of our bosses, and have him tell us that we are good workmen. We haven't got any sense; we don't want any, only enough to work. It don't take any sense to be a workman. O what a joyful thought, we don't have to think. We don't have to worry. Our work and scale is all mapped out for us. All that is expected of us is to work so as to enable you to give away church organs and libraries, and donate $250,000 to the charity fund so as to keep the poor slaves from starving in order to meet no opposition from your own slaves.

O master, we thank thee for all the free gifts you have given the public at the expense of your slaves. O master, we thank thee for all those good things because it is our duty to do so as slaves. O master, the bitter cup is not near filled yet. The medicine may be hard to take, but we will take it. We will starve our wives and families, work ourselves to death, sacrifice our homes, crucify liberty, kill prosperity to all but you. But we will never go back on you so long as we have no labor organization. We are unorganized, and you can deal with us like a lot of sheep of the dark stripe.

O master, we need no protection, we need no liberty so long as we are under thy care. So we commend ourselves to thy mercy, and furthermore sing thy praise. Amen!

This prayer is to be used morning, noon and night at Homestead, Pittsburg and Beaver Falls mills.—*Labor Tribune.*

EDUCATION.

Education is that which makes the true union man. The better educated we become in the needs of the laborer, the stronger we are to combat the soulless corporations in their attempt to enslave the poor workingman, and make him for all time to come a mere tool. Education teaches the workingman that there are rights which everyone should respect, and that to keep them from being trespassed upon, he must needs band together with others, to help himself by helping others. The rights of each individual should be equal, and being so, all laborers should join together and fight if need be. Workingmen are not machines, neither are they slaves, although many regard themselves as such, and think there is no hope for them. When the life line is thrown they do not try to save themselves, thinking that it is of no use to make an attempt, when, if they do so, must needs succeed. What if they fail at the first attempt, let them try again, and again, and victory is theirs. Let it be said that they have behaved like men and true Americans, and therefore they triumphed. Will they learn? Will they educate themselves, or remain in ignorance and bondage? Nothing comes to the person who does not try to reach it; but to obtain a good thing one must know how and when, and education teaches both.

Great labor leaders owe the development of their natural abilities to a continued investigation and careful research. They study the labor questions of the day, and therefore are enabled to act in a manner which is regarded as praiseworthy. Their brilliant acts are the results of education; that is, the having learned by careful study what is to the best interest of the laboring men. The workingman should know that he has rights, what they are and how to preserve them. All this he can learn by investigation and becoming familiar with the law of his order, and these he should know not only for himself, but when an outsider asks him a question he will be able to answer in an intelligent manner.

Some people say they will not join a labor organization as it will not meet with the approval of employers. Of course it will not! Employers would much rather see every class unorganized, so that the iron heel of monopoly can grind deeper, and they wish their employes to remain as ignorant as possible, knowing that as they become educated they will become enlightened as to their rights, and will organize for their own

protection. The workingman, however, should never forget that "in union there is strength," and to resist encroachment, which, if allowed, leads to the very verge of helpless slavery. Without union he is virtually helpless in the iron hand of monopoly. The revolutionary war was a fight for liberty, and it is for this precious natural right that we contend today. It is not the object of organized labor to attempt anything wrong, but to help lighten the burdens of laboring men. The lessons of the past should teach that organization is necessary for protection. Let us look closely into the questions which now present themselves and see if we cannot better our condition by attaining and preserving thorough organization. Read the article in this issue on "Loyalty" from the pen of one of the foremost labor writers on the North American continent, who points out the necessity of fidelity to each other.

Certain people are so stubborn and miserly that they will not join a union, although it is for their own good; they should be compelled to do so for the sake of their co-laborers, as some men were compelled to shoulder the musket during the late civil war, and assist in the protection of their own rights. Would that our order had more members educated in its working, as they would then realize that by becoming more loyal they further their own interests, and are not acting as stumbling blocks to all laboring people for the benefit of arrogant capitalists.

The tree has been planted and has taken root. We must cultivate and develop it by every possible means. We should be sufficiently vigilant and industrious to clear our way from all obstacles.

We need the help and encouragement of every workingman. When every workingman has given thought to his own condition, when he has taken the pains to read the paper and keep himself informed on everything that concerns him; in other words, when he educates himself enough to realize his true condition, then he shall see wherein he erred in the past, and will try to correct his error by united effort in the future.—*The Railroad Telegrapher.*

The Arena for February is a magnificent midwinter issue, containing 164 pages. Among the contributors are Rev. M. J. Savage, Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., Heinrich Hensoldt, Ph. D., Congressman John Davis, Stinson Jarvis, Rabbi Solomon Schindler, Helen Campbell and Rev. Hiram Vrooman. The editor contributes two important papers—one dealing with uninvited poverty, the other an argument against medical monopoly. A striking feature is a symposium by six well-known American women on "Rational Dress for Women." This symposium is profusely illustrated. Altogether no review of the month will be so attractive to progressive persons as the midwinter *Arena*. The publishers announce that hereafter *The Arena* will contain 144 pages, making it the largest monthly review published.

The great aim and object in this life seems to be to get something for nothing. The national bankers have been getting something for nothing for so long that they begin to think it is one of their natural rights. That is why they want to cut off our money supply. They are after an unearned increment.

In our advertising columns will be found the advertisement of the Winkley Artificial Limb Conpany, Minneapolis, Minn. These gentlemen have the reputation of making first-class limbs, and purchasers will be sure of fair and honorable treatment.

The only way to get credit for what you have been is to be something better at the present moment.

Labor begets capital; capital begets indolence; indolence begets want, and want compels labor.

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THE EMPLOYES IN COURT.

The result of the legal struggle is well known to all our readers before this issue reaches them, but details may not be.

The organizations on the system that joined interests, after the officers of District Assembly No. 82 had opened the battle, were: Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, District Assembly No. 82, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Order Railway Conductors, Order Railway Telegraphers, and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. As appears in the answer filed in the federal courts, the local lodge of carmen at Denver placed their interests in the hands of District Assembly No. 82. There probably never was before a more compact union of labor forces on a railway system.

The following is the text of the opinion and order of Judges Hallett and Riner at Denver:

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLORADO, SITTING AT DENVER:

Oliver Ames, second, et al, vs. The Union Pacific Railroad Company, et al.

Hallett, D. J.; Riner, D. J.

MEMORANDUM.

In the matter of the petition filed by the receivers of the Union Pacific system in relation to certain proposed schedules affecting the employment of men engaged in the service of the various railway and telegraph lines composing that system, now in the hands of the receivers, we are of the opinion that it is necessary to the proper and economical management of the property now under the control of the receivers to adopt and maintain rules, regulations and schedules governing the conduct, employment and establishing the wages of all persons employed in the service of the receivers in and about the management, operation and conduct of the business in relation to these railways and properties.

It appears by the pleadings in this case that prior to the appointment of the receivers, certain rules, regulations and schedules, the result of negotiations between the managers snd employes of the various railway lines entering into and composing the Union Pacific system touching the matter set forth in the petition, were in force, recognized and acted upon by the employes and managers of the railway company composing this system.

Our own view is, if the receivers deem it advisable and necessary to the proper and economical management of the properties in their hands that rules, regulations and schedules, different from those in force at the time the property came into their hands, should be adopted, that a hearing upon the question of proposed changes thought necessary by the receivers be had in the first instance before the receivers; that the employes affected by any proposed charge be notified, and be given time and opportunity to point out to the receivers any inequality in schedules, or any injustice which they may think will be done them by any proposed change in the rules and regulations.

If, after such negotiations and consultation, the receivers and employes are unable to agree as to any proposed rule, regulation, item or items of the wage schedule proposed, let the matters of difference be referred to the court for final determination. If this course is pursued, the result in our judgment will be, that after a full consultation and discussion of these matters between the receivers and employes (meeting as they will, in a spirit of fairness upon both sides, determined to do the right thing, under existing conditions), that very little will be left to the termination of the court, in relation to this matter.

This course not having been pursued in this instance, we deem it advisable to deny the prayer of the petition of the receivers, and an order to that effect will be entered in this district and in the district of Wyoming.

[*Indorsed*—3013—Circuit Court, United States, Oliver Ames, et al, vs. Union Pacific Railway Company, et al—Opinion on petition of receivers to adopt wage schedules—Filed Febuary

8, 1894—Robert Bailey, Clerk, United States Circuit Court.]

A true copy. *Attest*:

[SEAL] ROBERT BAILEY, Clerk.

By CHARLES W. BISHOP, Deputy Clerk.

PLEAS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLORADO, SITTING AT DENVER:

Oliver Ames, second, et al, vs. The Union Pacific Railroad Company, et al.—In Chancery—Bill for Receivers.

Seventy-second day, November term, Thursday, February 8, 1894.

Present: The Honorable Moses Hallett, district judge, and the Honorable John A. Riner, district judge, and other officers, as noted on the 7th day of November last past.

This cause coming on to be heard upon the petition of the receivers herein, asking that they be authorized and empowered to put into force and effect, on the first day of March, 1894, certain rules, regulations and schedules governing the employment and fixing the wages of the employes on the Union Pacific system set out in said petition and the objections thereto filed by the employes of said Union Pacific system, and was argued by counsel and thereupon consideration thereof.

It is ordered that the prayer of the petition of the receivers herein be and the same is hereby denied.

A true copy as of record. *Attest:*

[SEAL] ROBERT BAILEY, Clerk.

By CHARLES W. BISHOP, Deputy Clerk.

After the above was rendered, the solicitors for the receivers went to St. Louis, before the circuit court, asking for its interference. Judge Caldwell was telegraphed to, asking that the employes be given an opportunity to be heard. But this seems to have been unnecessary, as Judge Caldwell evidently had that view, for his advice to Thurston was practically the same as the opinion of Judges Hallett and Riner. The circulation of the Dundy order and schedules it provided for by the officials of the system, and the remarks and threats they made, indicated that it was the intention to proceed under the order of the Nebraska court, regardless of the action of the Colorado and Wyoming courts. With a view of checking such a move, application was made to Judge Riner at Cheyenne, sitting for Wyoming and Colorado in the absence of Judge Hallett, for a restraining order, which as follows was granted on February 26:

Upon the petition of George W. Vroman, et al, representing employes of the court engaged in operating the various railway, railroad and telegraph lines and other property formerly operated as the Union Pacific system, now being operated, controlled and managed by S. H. H. Clark, Oliver W. Mink, E. Ellery Anderson, J. W. Doum and F. H. Coudert, receivers appointed by this court, and upon the affidavits filed in support of said petition, it is ordered that the schedules of pay and the rules and regulations for the guidance and government of employes engaged in the operation of the various railway, railroad and telegraph lines and other properties of the Union Pacific system within the state of Wyoming now operated by said receivers, which were in force upon said Union Pacific system at the date when the property of said Union Pacific system passed into the custody and control of said receivers, under and by virtue of the order of this court, shall be continued in full force and effect by said receivers, their managers and superintendents until the further order of this court; this order to apply to every department of service under said receivers, in relation to the operation and business of said Union Pacific properties now in the hands of said receivers within the state of Wyoming.

It is further ordered that said receivers forthwith cause notice of this order to be distributed among the employes affected thereby within the state of Wyoming.

And it is further ordered that the clerk of this court forthwith mail a certified copy of this order to said receivers and to their solicitors, and the United States marshal shall serve a copy thereof upon the superintendent under said receivers, at Cheyenne, Wyo., by leaving a copy of this order with him or with the person in charge of his office.

JOHN A. RINER, Judge.

Prior to this, the answer of the employes had been filed in the federal courts for Utah, Idaho and Washington. The petition of the receivers had been withdrawn from Kansas. The Dundy order had been entered in Oregon, but the employes filed their papers asking for a hearing on motion to vacate the order. At this stage of the proceedings, on application of the receivers to the

circuit court at St. Louis, Judge Caldwell issued the following order:

1. That the petition of the receivers for leave to set aside and annul the schedules of wages of the employes on the Union Pacific system, in force when they were appointed, and to adopt new schedules, equalizing, and in some cases reducing, the employes, be set down for hearing before circuit judges at Omaha, Neb., on the 27th day of March, A. D. 1894.

2. That the receivers forthwith, or as soon as may be practicable, invite the proper representatives of the employes on said system to attend a conference at Omaha, Neb., commencing on the 15th day of March, 1894, for the purpose of conferring with S. H. H. Clark, receiver (who is hereby specially designated and selected to conduct said conference on behalf of the receivers), and such other person or persons as he may select to act with him, at which conference the entire matter of the proposed changes in the wage schedules shall be taken up and as far as possible agreed upon between the said Clark and said representatives of the employes. Such conference to concontinue from day to day until such agreement is reached.

3. That in case there are any matters in difference remaining unadjusted, such matters of difference shall be clearly and specifically stated and presented to the court in writing on or before the said 27th day of March, 1894, and the hearing herein proceed as to such matters in difference before the circuit judges holding the court, and after hearing the parties and their witnesses and counsel the circuit judges will make such order in the premises as may be right and just.

4. That the receivers grant to such representatives of the employes leave of absence to attend said conference and hearing, and furnish them transportation to Omaha and return.

The following telegram was sent, after the order of the court was received by Mr. Clark, to the chairman of the various organizations on the system:

In accordance with order of court, copy of wich I send you by mail, you are hereby invited to join me in conference at Omaha on March 15, 1894, for the purpose of conferring upon matters of proposed new schedules and rates of pay on Union Pacific system.

S. H. H. CLARK.

This brings the whole question back *to where it would have* been ordinarily if there had been no receivership, and the management wanted any alterations in existing rules, regulations and schedules, but with the additional provision that if there can be no agreement, the circuit court will pass upon any differences. This assures peace at least. It remains to be seen what will be the further result. There is one thing certain, this method of procedure need cause no break in the harmonious relationship that has existed between management and employes the past ten years. The high uses and needs of practical organization of men, in order that individual interests may be protected, has been made plain to the dullest mind. A harmony of action has been established between the employes that can bring but good results.

The following petition is being circulated throughout District No. 82, blanks for which have been sent all local secretaries:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled:

We, the undersigned citizens of the state of———,respectfully protest against the passage of a bill now pending in the house and introuced therein by Hon. H. A. Caffeen, representative from Wyoming, entitled "A bill to encourage and establish better facilities for travel to, from, into and through, the Yellowstone National Park, and for other purposes." We object to the said bill for the reason

First—That it grants to a corporation not only the right of way through this national pleasure ground, but also four hundred acres of land, adjacent to the geysers and other natural wonders of the park. These lands to be selected by the company for depot and hotel purposes, thus granting to said corporation a practical monopoly of the magnificent scenery and curiosities with which nature has endowed this wonderful region.

Second—That this valuable franchise, worth millions of dollars to the grantees, is preferred upon them without any corresponding concession on their part to the people, such as the regulation of passenger and freight rates by congress.

Third—That section 7 of said bill fails to provide in what manner and by whom the gross earnings of the parties' properties on these grants shall be ascertained, and we believe in view of these facts

that the interests of a corporation, and not of the people, will be subserved by the passage of this bill.

Locals are requested to send the above petition on blanks forwarded to them, to H. Breitenstein, Laramie, Wyo., as soon as they have been circulated.

It seems to us the general executive board of the Knights of Labor can find plenty of matters of more importance to labor, and more in keeping with the dignity of their work, than an investigation of P. M. Arthur's financial standing, or that of any other individual. We do not see what is to be gained for labor by it.

The prompt action of the members and others in furnishing support to the legal fight is an indication of what men can and will do when the importance of it is called to their attention. But what could or would have been done if there had not been organizations ready to act?

Bert L. Kipp, locomotive engineer, formerly located at Ellensburg, Wash., can hear something to his advantage by communicating with Frank E. Carney, 714 Cooper building, Denver, Colo.

ETHICS OF INTEREST TAKING.

Before the late rebellion the church papers indebted to slave-holders for their support could always be found quoting scripture to prove that slavery was right. In the same manner many church papers are standing by the money changers of to-day. The following from a Presbyterian paper published in this city is a sample of their logic:

> We cannot accept the interpretation of scripture which makes all interest to be usury and all who lend money to be rascals. If it be right for one to hire his horse to another, he has a right to hire out his money with which horses are bought. Taking interest is not morally wrong, for the Jews were allowed to take it from the Gentiles.

If the interpretation of scripture is so varied as to make it uncertain that interest is of the nature of usury, there is no use in trying to settle the question by the Bible. Instead of basing our sense of justice upon uncertain precedents established by ancient Shylocks, let us try to reason the matter out ourselves.

Interest taking may be excusable, but it cannot be right. The man who takes interest gets something for nothing. He may be justified in so doing, because he has had to pay something sometime to someone else for nothing, but he is not right, according to ideal justice.

If it be right for one man to hire his horse to another, it does not follow that he has the equal right to hire out his money. A horse when used is not worth as much as he was before, and equity would demand something for his wear and tear. Money is not depreciated by its wear and tear.

While it is the equal right of every person to exchange his products with another without paying a third party for the privilege, it is not his equal right to use a horse without his owner's consent.

There is no law against any man having a horse of his own. There is a law against any man having a legal tender of his own. Competition is free in raising horses but not in coining money. We are compelled to pay our debts in a certain kind of money, and this money is controlled by the bankers who will not let us trade without paying them tribute. —*Western Laborer.*

We are frequently asked by some unfortunate person who has suffered the loss of a leg or arm, for the address of a reliable manufacturer of artificial limbs. We hesitate before assuming the responsibility of recommending any special manufacturer, as the future happiness of the wearer of one of these appliances depends almost wholly upon its proper construction and application. From all we can learn, however, we feel justified in stating that George R. Fuller, United States government manufacturer, of Rochester, N. Y., is one of the best known manufacturers, and can be relied upon to do thoroughly first-class work in this line, and at extremely low prices. His business has been established for over thirty-five years, and his financial standing is such as to make it perfectly safe to enter into a contract with him. Mr. Fuller also manufactures crutches, trusses, elastic stockings, etc., and we are assured that any who address him will receive valuable information on this subject.—*Pharmaceutical Era.*

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

ARMSTRONG, Kan., February 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

On January 24 the weather changed from a semi-tropical to a frigid state. As on January 16 the liquid in the bulb rose to sixty-four degrees. On the above date the mercury went down in the sphere fifteen degrees below the cipher, and continued to hang around that worthless figure for about a week, making life miserable to people out of employment. On February 11 a wind and snow storm set in with great fury. When the storm subsided there was sixteen inches of the fleecy substance above terra firma. Those men who had a long way to travel to their work that morning were found missing. All street railways were blocked and a good many of the railroads were in the same condition.

James M. Kirmey, of the Omaha, Neb., Knights of Labor, and now on the general executive board of that order, made a stay of two days during the latter part of January at Kansas City, Mo., in the interest of the order. He speaks well of the progress of the order throughout America.

During the cold spell the company managed to get in a fair supply of ice about six inches thick. It was taken from several places on the Kansas division.

Business on the road is not good. Work in the several departments of the shops is brisk. Few men are being hired, but a good many boys, particularly in the machine shop, where there is a surfeit of the juvenile element. The company is determined to make its own machinists. Very few apprentices are taken in other departments.

The shop men are still working forty-eight hours a week.

The company pays regularly on the sixteenth of each month, which gives great satisfaction to the men and the business community at this place.

Work on the two new locomotives are in progress, with ten new freight cars in course of construction.

A good deal of sickness prevails among the people of this locality this winter.

The whole topic of conversation in cafes, hotels, and wherever people are likely to congregate, is about the hard times and what brought them about. Some people are cursing the late national administration, others frown on the present representatives of the people for their ills. There are a great many people to-day in America blaming Grover Cleveland and his administration for the hard times on account of his low tariff policy. Was he not nominated and elected on such declaration of principles? And now these same men who voted for him are speaking ill of him and his policy of tariff reform. Who put him in the White house? Is not it the voice of the American people? You must blame your own ignorance on these questions, if you think the tariff question has anything to do with your misery.

On March 1 the company is going to put into service again Nos. 1 and 2, through passenger trains to Denver, Colo., which were taken off last fall. This will be highly appreciated by the traveling public.

The company closed the shops down Febuary 22 in commemoration of George Washington's birthday. It was a patriotic move in the right direction. There were a great many of the men who would prefer to work, both native and naturalized citizens. Such men are nothing more or less than chaff amongst the bright and intelligent young America of the present day. I say let us have more holidays in commemoration of the soldiers and statesmen who stood loyal to the stars and stripes in the discharge of their duty at the turning point—and before and after.

Everything is going along smoothly here. But there is no inducement for anyone to come this way seeking employment.

At some of the shops on the Missouri Pacific railroad they are only working their men twenty-five hours a week.

THE MAGAZINE should by all means receive the moral and financial support of all workingmen on account of the bold stand it takes in the interest of labor.

AU BOUT DE SON.

POCATELLO, Idaho, February 18, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

February is passing, with its many events in its labor and social circles that will not soon be forgotten.

The two previous months of this winter have been beautiful. The elements have been at peace. Sunshine and calm have dominated over all expected storms and the warm breeze from the south has kept back the piercing frosts, which

show no mercy either to the man of wealth whose nose peeps through the fur of his rich coat, or to the man of poverty hovering over his dim fire in his miserable shack, with his children and wife suffering because they do not get what the law of nature demands. Leaving the father out of this home scene, it is among the common sights of Pocatello. The father is generally somewhere else. Sometimes he is on the tramp for work; sometimes at rest in the grave; sometimes he is watching the wheels of fortune—the revolving tub, the poker table or the game of faro, where he has deposited much of his earnings in time of plenty, never to return again. The Pocatello relief committee has found about twenty-two such homes, and has visited them like angels of mercy with necessaries of life.

February hangs over us with clouds, wind, snow and frost. The only grateful ones are the icemen, for they had fears of an ice famine.

On January 28 seekers for pleasure laid their skates aside and the river flowed as if never to freeze again, but now everybody and his best girl are sailing along on their iron feet, and the river once more sends forth the sound of mirth.

Our labor circles, to have the disease of the month, are clouded with doubts and fears. Judge Dundy's order sent a thrill through our hearts; not so much on account of the reduction of wages, but the tyranny and oppression that underlied the whole order. It seems to me the substance of it was this: "Boys, I am your great Dad. I am clothed with unlimited power—that power is the Union Pacific Railway Company. It has been very generous to me ever since it knew my character. It has taken me and my car at my will; only last fall I was taken with all my sporting outfit to the Wood river country, where I could chase the bear and the deer. They have refused me nothing. Could I be so ungrateful as to refuse them a single request? O no! Therefore, be it so ordered, for I your great ruler make the decree. Therefore, you must not question my integrity in this matter. You must work at my will. The rules and regulations now governing you must be abolished. You must work for such pay as I see fit to give. You are a part of the machinery that rolls the wheels of commerce along; it must roll, and you must roll it." And it seems he expected all to say amen! But poor Dad Dundy, he has the sympathy of my heart. He has so many unruly boys! And you, my erring brother, was the most stubborn of them all. Yet I don't blame you. I think it is the company you keep.

The whole executive board, and even all other organized bodies of labor, had the cheek to back you up and aid you in your course. Upon the whole, he has a bad lot of boys. Either he or his boys must have their way, and at present it seems as if the boys are the victors.

February made a great stir in the labor circles here. All employes were invited to the opera house. The business men of the town seemed just as enthusiastic as the company employes, and many wanted to be a part of the meeting, but found no admittance. About four hundred shop and road men were there. Discussion of the cut rates was given as the object of the meeting, and a general invitation was given to all. The audiance became silent as death. Who would be the naughty boy to say: "No, Father Dundy, I want something to say about my wages?" And then bring upon himself the wrath of the powers that gave them all their "daily bread." He was not there; silence still reigned. I was there trembling with fear, lest my name should be mentioned. I have sailed on the raging deep with the waves rolling around me as if to swallow me up each moment. I have heard the bugle call and faced the enemy in battle, but never before did I experience such a terrible moment; I hope I never shall again. At last one brave man broke the silence from the rostrum. His words were like these: "Gentlemen, I have fought labor's battles twelve long years in the sacred halls of the sanctuary, but this place is too public. I beg to be excused." The audience was excused also. The tableau ended.

In the daily work of the shop there is little change. Once in a while a laborer is hired, and vacancies are filled among mechanics.

Steam has taken the place of stoves in the old round house, where general repairs are done, and it is a great improvement to the comfort of the men.

The Knights of Labor ball, which was given on the 13th, was a grand success in its social and financial merits.

Rev. O. A. Smith, of the Methodist Episcopal church is giving a series of labor sermons which is creating much interest. Thanks to the awakening of the pulpit. It is time. G. A. R.

GREEN RIVER, Wyo., February 25, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

It is several months since anything appeared in THE MAGAZINE from this place, so we come again to say we are

still here, upholding the cause of labor and battling for the rights of man.

The saying, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," has almost passed into a proverb, and its truth to-day is as clear and important as ever, and as applicable to industrial liberty as to political or national liberty. In support of this statement I may be permitted to remark that we have enjoyed comparative freedom from petty annoyances of petty "bosses" for the past few months. When it is thoroughly understood that these self-important gentry are watched, and sure to be exposed from time to time, they will be more careful how they use, and not abuse, the authority placed in their hands—very often by the "powers that be" without regard to merit.

Business is good on the road at this point. There is a great rush of coal to the west from Rock Springs, and as a result, we have lots of work here at the shops, both in the car department and the round house.

The Regan brothers, two machinists of long standing here, were suddenly called to Vermont by the serious illness of their sister. Their places are filled in the meantime by two young men from Evanston.

Six extra engineers were dismissed from the companies service a few days ago between here and Evanston. It is said it was done at the request of a few older extra men that they would thereby have an opportunity of making more time, while the six discharged men can have full time to travel at their own expense. This is a sad commentary on the selfishness of a body of men who are supposed to be united in the bonds of fraternity and sympathy of mutual interests.

We have had a very animated, if not interesting, discussion going on here for some weeks past. It seems a simple matter at first sight, but still people will not agree as to the answer. The question is: "What is the correct weight of a ton of coal." Our local coal agents and all the school children say it is 2,000 pounds, but others who have to work for a living, buy this coal and pay for it, say a ton of coal weighs that in some places but not here. They say here the weight is a variable and unknown quantity, ranging anywhere from 1,200 to 2,000 pounds, and only the latter figure when the purchaser stands at the scales armed with a club. If we can agree on the correct answer, I will let the readers of THE MAGAZINE into the conundrum in my next epistle. Yours truly,

WATCHMAN.

POCATELLO, February 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

As nothing appeared in our MAGAZINE last month from Pocatello, I will drop you a few lines this month, this being a holiday, our great George Washington's birthday. We have a few George Washingtons at the present time, but we need more. A harder battle is being fought now than old Washington ever fought. This time it is a battle between capital and labor, so called, but in my opinion it is war between shylocks and producers. How long this battle will last is not easy to say at the present time. We are having our hands full on the Union Pacific system just now in checkmating the receivers, thanks to the watchfulness of Knights of Labor leaders on this road and the early warning cry through our MAGAZINE to all organized labor. Little enough attention was paid to those articles at that time, but since, they have been referred to by many, read and reread and commented on.

Now, Mr. Editor, I for one would like to know how it is, in case of trouble on the road, that we as Knights of Labor are allowed to mingle and take part in the strife with the self-called railroad men, even allowed to take the initiative and they follow, but in time of peace when we advocate federation of all employes we are ousted and excluded on account of not being railroad men. Is this not very foolish? In my opinion it is. We have station employes who think themselves better than the average laborer—connot condescend to set in the same meeting to prepare for their own defense.

Ten years ago the Knights of Labor won the fight against the reduction then ordered, and has to a big extent upheld the wages on the Union Pacific system to the present time. We were in a good position then to fight. To-day the so-called labor organizations have crippled us, but still we are alive and able to show a good fight yet. How narrow-minded some people must be to think that eight or twelve different organizations separately can do more good than if all in one!

I would suggest that the Knights of Labor give way to some of these aristocratic labor organizations with their high-feeling importance, and to the great "Debs" and his A. R. U. Let them do the thinking and fighting for a while, till we are reduced to the equal of the Pennsylvania miners. I have not been able to attend our meetings of late on account of working nights, but I have been told that the committee appointed to solicit aid from our business men did

splendid. We had a great employes' mass meeting called to meet in the opera house. I layed off on purpose to attend. Nearly five hundred people were present to hear what was going to be done or said. Nobody seemed to know, nothing being said or done but a motion that we were not beggars. Some very good remarks were made by Mr. Wormsley and a few other shopmen, otherwise the meeting was a rank fake, and everybody thoroughly disgusted with it.

The receivers have reached Idaho, and gone to Boice. Brother Monro was one day ahead of them.

Our assembly is doing well and growing in membership every meeting night.

Our Knights of Labor ball on the 13th, St. Valentine eve, was a great success in every respect.

Our treasurer complains about too much silver.

Since writing is not in my line, I will therefore close, with kind regards to all brother knights. Yours truly,

LABORER.

LARAMIE, Wyo., February 23, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The all-absorbing topic the greater part of this month has been the stand taken by the employes resorting to the courts for justice instead of the former method of striking. Everybody seems to rejoice to think that the "strike" is dead. I believe a large majority hope that it may never be resurrected. A general satisfaction prevails among the men at Laramie at the mode of procedure by the chairmen of the various organizations taking an active part in the contest. At a general meeting, committees from each department were appointed to solicit money to defray the expenses for counsel, printing bills, etc. The work of the committees has not been completed at this date, but all report favorably.

The last number of THE MAGAZINE has been very favorably commented on, and seemed to be in demand. Your editorials on the various subjects in the February MAGAZINE will be good reading to those who come after us, and perhaps be still more appreciated than at presemt. Work in shops is being pushed along with the usual vigor. The round house repairs seem to be on the increase, and it keeps the carpenters busy lagging boilers, and the jacket men making and repairing jackets. Air brake and other gangs are busy stripping and putting up their work, to say nothing about repairs they are compelled to make. The boiler shop force is kept busy calking leaks, taking out flues and resetting, while the blacksmiths, especially the flue-welders, are manipulating the eight hours each day to the best advantage. Painters and all are being urged along, each department trying to get its work done first.

William Breitenstein has returned from Rawlins, and is once more in his former place.

T. R. Fleck is again working on the night shift at air brake repairs.

The biggest boy for his age in Laramie was Frank Willmot — twenty-one years of age, and weighs something over 235 pounds He formerly worked in the air brake gang, but has gone, not where the "woodbine twineth," but to Woodbine, Iowa, to try his hand at farming. Our best wishes go with him. None will be missed more than he when there is any heavy lifting to be done. The 235 pounds avoirdupois was the handiest thing out on a pull, and none can say that he was afraid to use it.

The officials passed here going west last week, and our local papers are full of rumors of the proposed erection of a new round house ever since, but it is most too good news to believe.

One of our men was surprised the other day to hear that the Denver hospital, to which he contributed forty cents every month, was a charitable institution, and remarked that he did not like the idea of being an object of charity should he get sick, or disabled through injuries or otherwise. Since he would have to go to the "Sisters' Hospital," ever since the closing of the Union Pacific Hospital, he would go to the charitable institution or none.

J. N. Corbin came up the 22d and spoke to the railroad men, and took with him to Judge Riner's court at Cheyenne a number of affidavits from engine and train men. Most of the people in Laramie were so interested in a foot-ball game on that day, and a show and ball at night, so his audience was hardly as large as it should have been. Those present were well pleased with his talk on the needs of the present time. It is clearly evident that the employes on the Union Pacific must show an increased activity in their immediate interest or they may lose all they have gained in the past.

The barbarous game of foot ball, compared to which the usual prize fight is getting to be a gentlemanly amusement, is getting some kicks it deserves. It would be much better if the Wyoming University would give the same attention to the heads of the students that has lately been given to their feet. The next thing we know, they will be teaching our girls the art of kicking and pounding each other dead, half dead or black and blue from crown to sole with some new game. It certainly is as necessary for girls as it is for boys. It is becoming more evident each day that Darwin is right. If man was not a descendant from a monkey, these things would not be so contagious.

There is, at this date, considerable uneasiness manifested by some as to the final effect of the Dundy order that has been so profusely distributed among engine and train men. I feel confident that the interest of those effected are being well cared for, and before the Nebraska judge is done with this case, he will feel disposed to trade his judicial kingdom for a horse, and the receivers will be as badly lost as the judge was when hunting game in the wilds of Wyoming

and Colorado's mountains on one of his expeditions west. LXXXII.

DENVER, Colo., February 27, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

George Oliver, who was injured last month by a dome cap blowing off, is about again.

St. Peter has subsided somewhat in his antics about the paint-shop. Says he is waiting till all rules and regulations are wiped out when "he'll show 'em." He is evidently quite an anarchist at heart. Strict rules and regulations will be necessary so long as the powers that be, either intentionally or accidentally, place imbecility or brutality over men. The appointing power can only be excused once for making a mistake in the same man, and so on, up till the highest authority on the system is reached. Until, finally, a complaint for the existence of a tyrannical, petty boss should be directed against the president of the system for retaining a general superintendent who retains a division master mechanic, who retains a general foreman who keeps such a tyrant in place.

The Dundy order, which was staring the employes in the face when my last was written, will undoubtedly prove of great value to all railroad employes in the long run. The united move of the employes in the courts was more successful than the most sanguine predicted. It has caused the ventilation of a principle of right that reaches deep into the labor question. It has caused the placing of the labor struggle on a higher plane, and has been the means of creating a unity of purpose among the employes. The further result of this struggle before the receivers and the circuit court will be watched with interest.

The raising of funds for the expenses of the legal contest met with marked success among the shopmen at this point. All see how much better and cheaper the method is than the resistance through a strike.

Local Assembly 3218 is experiencing a boom. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" should be written in bold letters in the home of every toiler. If there had not been organized forces on guard, the Dundy order would now be in force. In fact, worse than it would have been constantly in existence. XXX.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, February 26, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

As the months succeed each other, we are constantly reminded that we are living in a period of crises, and the events which follow so rapidly in procession as almost to bewilder the beholder as they pass, convince us that the closing years of the nineteenth century, cruel though they seem to contemporary sufferers, will lack no whit of importance in comparison with those which one hundred years ago startled the world as the eighteenth century prepared the terrible balance sheet of civilization, and men attempted to liquidate the indebtedness of society to its *ntegral constituents*. To-day, society realizes the poverty of its resources as fully as one hundred years ago when Robespierre, driven from sheer desperation to abandon the role of patriot for that of fury, degenerated from the lover of his fellow man to the assassin of his enemies and the reviler of his associates, and the hoarse cry of Danton gave out the savage utterance: "*L andace, l andace, to jours l andace!*"

The adherents of the theories which make Jenkinism possible seem to have adopted the motto "*apres nous le deluge*," and like the daughter of Tarquin, dyeing her chariot wheels in the blood of her dying parent, capital rides down prostrate and wounded labor, her ever-faithful parent. The czar of the White house dictates a financial policy which Abraham Lincoln characterized as the height of injustice, and finds a willing tool in the complaisant Carlisle, who infamously betrays the debtors of the nation into the hands of the usurer, and institutes a practice which pays out gold with one hand in the redemption of non-interest-bearing obligations of the government, in order that he may borrow it back again with the other, at the expense of usury, to keep up a sham surplus, and the labor of the country be taxed to fill the already congested and overflowing coffers of Wall street.

I have found some reason, however, to congratulate humanity upon the advanced position taken by Judge Caldwell in the matter of the Dundy order, and hope that the toilers will appreciate the importance of placing the appointing power of the nation in the hands of a friend of the people, so that the judiciary may count among its numbers more men like Henry Clay Caldwell, who shows that he did not put off his patriotic love of the cause of the people when he laid aside his saber and spurs to take up the scales of justice, but displays the same courage on the bench that made a whole brigade stop fighting on more than one occasion to cheer a heroism which reminded them of that of Bayard.

Local Assembly 1300 takes a special pride in Caldwell, because he is an honored son of the Hawkeye state, in days when from Wilson's creek and Pea Ridge to the Atlantic coast, her sons had the record of having never turned their backs to the enemy in flight, or lost a stand of colors except the whole regiment was captured. Thank God that, as when Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica, Wellington saw the light in the same year in England, so when Jenkins rendered his most infamous decision in Milwaukee, and Dundy followed his example in Nebraska, a Caldwell was raised up in His divine providence, to save the national judiciary from utter condemnation, and correct the evil which was done. It is worth some inconvenience and vexation too to have our General Master Workman Sovereign stirred up to such vigorous utterance as is quoted in to-day's papers in regard to the injunction served on him in the Northern Pacific case, and altogether there is very much of a gratifying character connected

with the general features of what is without doubt the beginning of a contest which will make the history of the next few years mighty interesting reading for our great grandchildren. NEMO.

My day-laboring brother, wait a moment. I know you don't care for politics, and have no time to hear me talk or to read books, but please wait just a minute. I am not going to ask you to invest a cent in any scheme to profit anybody at your expense. Did you ever think, while hard at work for somebody's profit, that all your tools were thought out by scientific minds? That the wonders of earth and heaven have only been revealed by and through science? Don't go; wait just a minute. Science has been thinking just as much about the *worker* as it has the tools he uses. It has thought out how you may live like kings, if you desire it. These scientific cranks have discovered that the average day's labor is paid $1 while the things that labor made for that dollar are sold for $10.50. That if the people would have all business conducted on socialistic methods, that the workers would get $10.50 a day, and no house rent, no tax and no interest. Every family could be scientifically housed, fed, clothed and educated by working only four hours a day! People would then govern themselves instead of being governed by coal barons, railroad kings, oil dukes and merchant princes. There would be work for all at this rate for every day anyone desired it. Why will you not think over this? Think how hard you work, and how the girl you loved and courted and married tried to skimp and get along, and how she has to turn and twist and make over for the little ones, and how you almost sink in despair at the continual struggle! Please do think of all these hardships and injustices you bear that a few millionaires may live and squander and work not. *They live off of your vote.* All the pleasures of peace and plenty and no fear of want will come to you working people when you learn a little politics for yourselves. Thousands of earnest, patriotic men are to-day giving their lives and means trying to get you to see these scientific truths. It's to your interest, to the over-worked wife's interest, and to the interest of your babes that you learn these things for yourself. Good-bye.—*Coming Nation.*

If you are good to yourself, the world will be good to you.

STATE OF OHIO, CITY OF TOLEDO, } ss:
LUCAS COUNTY.

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FRANK J. CHENEY.

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence, this 6th day of December, A. D. 1886.

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UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

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THE NEED OF RIGHT METHODS.

It is the hope of many social reformers, to so have social affairs regulated that human ills will disappear. The formulas for accomplishing this which are advanced differ as do the individuality of their expounders. People live and die under conditions, better or worse, that arise as the resultant of all the varying intellectual forces that are brought to bear on the social question, which is nothing more or less than the question of life, or how to live. Every feature of the question partakes of the relationship of man to man. All that can be reformed or corrected is that relationship, and as shown in daily life. The correction or reform must reach the individual, putting him upon a footing where he can exercise and broaden the manhood that is in him, or first, that which will put into him manhood to exercise. Human ills must remain if men remain as they are. That is a fact that must be considered in every move. It is a waste of energy to seek social panaceas that a universal application of will bring Utopia. If individual man remains thinking and acting from the same basis he has in the past, so will he maintain past relationship with fellow man; if that has been ill, it will continue to be ill.

A few men may practice in daily life the highest ideals, yet it will have very little effect on general affairs. The value of their effort will be in the example it gives, but that will be far from satisfactory because of the environments against which they must contend, and which prevent the result sought for. Co-operative communities have been started many times, yet they have never achieved the success that should be the result of the practicing of the high principle on which they are based.

They are continually handicapped by the adverse conditions that surround them. Such would work in harmony with a general ideal state of society, but when they must depend in a great measure on the use of social machinery

was no enemy or obstacle at all. And often the struggle is given up by the rank and file just at the time when success was near, and because they depended on the few as leaders to direct matters and results not coming soon enough, or because the force was not directed against what was commonly considered the real enemy, deserted.

It must be evident that success of labor's struggles in the future is going to depend entirely on the amount of reasoning powers there are scattered through the labor forces as a whole, rather than the intelligence of any few among them. No cure is going to be found in any force either side may create. It will come gradually through the reasoning force created jointly by all concerned. We might as well stop building fortifications to protect ourselves while we destroy the other, and adopt the method that will bring together, rather than separate, all parties interested, and that is everybody. When such plans are followed, it is safe to conclude there is going to be no backward step, but that the labor question will stand on the highest plane as the great question of life, and that the struggles of the future will be intellectual, rather than physical.

A DAY IN COURT.

Were men ever met together to deal with a more important question, or that results would be more far-reaching, or the possibilities of its expansion greater, than those who were seated in the United States court room at Omaha on the morning of March 30, 1894? Did a court ever give cognizance to a matter that would reach nearer the interests of the whole people?

It was, to say the least, an unusual scene. History gives no account of anything similar. Men have been tried for great crimes; courts have passed judgment on important matters effecting relations between men recognized as on the same footing, questions that have effected the commercial world, but here was at issue the question that capital and labor have grappled with most seriously since the beginning of history, yet for the first time the equitable rights of labor is recognized on an equality with capital. It is of momentous interest to every man engaged in industry.

Seated with all eyes centered on the judges, under the influence of the solemnity of the place, were the representatives of organized capital and of organized labor; one standing on no higher ground than the other; no sign of personal bitterness between them; both powerless to strike a blow at the other if they would; both apparently satisfied that the questions each have struggled over in the past were there for

peaceful settlement. It might be likened to two men who had fought to exhaustion, neither securing an advantage, and finally had submitted the question to a neighbor to pass upon. There is at issue all that which, considered under other circumstances and conditions, has temporarily paralyzed commerce, wrecked fortunes and brought misery into many a home.

What lover of his fellow man would not be moved at that scene? Who that has watched the industrial struggles of a generation past, or has been at the front doing what he believed was his duty, but what would say with all his heart, may the results be good. It bodes the opening of a brighter and more peaceful day for industry. Let no mistake injure the good prospects.

Capital! lay aside the spirit your power, through commanding the necessities of others, has given you to regard as your servant and tool Labor. You cannot in this place exercise it. Will it not be as well for you if you never again revive it into activity? Labor to-day is your fellow citizen, clothed with all that goes to give such recognition.

And you, Labor! think not of the brawn with which you have been wont, in the righteous spirit of defense, to strike at what you were forced to regard as your enemy; often in the dark, with unnecessary strain and waste of energy, but still the only means for supporting right you realized or had at your command. To-day you are not looking up to your industrial partner, but from a level with him, you his recognized equal. Use this new position in that manner that will command the respect of your opponents, that will justify in the minds of all your claim of equality.

This was Labor's day in court. On one side the representatives of one of the largest corporations in the world, evidently not used to having their acts or intentions questioned in this manner; trained to believe that the courts were their friends; amazed at the audacity of their servants contesting them in such a place, and at the possibility of the court recognizing the rights they claim. One had said, when it was intimated to him that the courts might sustain what the employes had secured in conference in the past. "United States courts have not been paying much attention to such matters." And it may be indicative of what was the prevailing thought, for it was true. But if they have not, should they not, and is not the time come when they would begin? Would it not be the surest way out of the difficulties that have beset the past, making more certain the relations that should exist at all times between the men at both ends of industry, and should not the method be hailed with delight by all whose intentions are fair and just?

There were also the representatives of organized labor —the army of employes of this great railway system—all feeling the strangeness of their surroundings; their minds influenced with the doubt that accompanies men on a voyage of discovery. The courts have had with them the reputation of being the fortress of labor's oppressors. Will that doubt be removed?

The surroundings had none of the excitement usual when labor in the past was resisting the inroads of capital. All realized that business of the system was moving along as usual—the men they represented at their customary vocations, the public being properly served. With many the thought may have been: "Will the men we represent believe we are doing the best possible in defending their interests by this tame and quiet method?"

The presiding judge seems to realize the unusual scene, and the importance results might have on the future of society, and yet his dignified but fatherly bearing inspires all, whose hearts were hoping for the establishment of a new era in the struggle for existence, as the man for the occasion.

The announcement of the court that all rules, regulations and schedules in force at the time of the appointment of receivers were still in force and effect, and that the burden rested on the receivers to show that changes in the same were right and necessary, established the principle, in this circuit at least, that rules, regulations and schedules, put in force by custom and by negotiations between employer and employed, if not contracts, they were institutional, and were not subject to changes or abolishment except by mutual agreement of parties effected, or by a decree of court after a hearing of both sides; that they became more than mere concessions from the employer, subject to their order to revoke at any time. Can the value of that to the railroad operators of the United States be estimated? To say nothing of its meaning to the general public, as it takes out of the jurisdiction of force questions that have effected the whole public. But it also means the railway operatives must be prepared to unitedly act to establish and then maintain in the new forum that which equity and justice demands. They must do it themselves. It will not be done for them.

The monotony of taking evidence in a court room has not much of interest usually, but in this case the questions asked by the court (a number of these with the answers we will print in another issue) of witnesses on the stand from the first indicated that the court intended to get at the truth as squarely and directly as possible, laying aside unnecessary formalities; that he was alive to the situation, and whatever *may have been* the opinion of the representatives of the

receivers, it certainly inspired the representatives of the employes with confidence, for their case rested entirely on the truth being unveiled, and there was fear that this would not fully result.

One incident in the trial will be long remembered by all who witnessed it, indicating that faith in men has not been entirely lost, and maintaining the proposition that honor and universal respect may be commanded by men—some men at least, no matter what position they may occupy—in spite of the popular condemnation of the method of their associates.

When S. H. H. Clark was called to testify the court refused to take the usual oath, stating his word was as good as his oath, and the approval of it was seen on the faces of all present, most especially with the employes of the system he has been so long connected with. What greater compliment could be paid a man, and who will say he did not deserve it? It is saying much for a man, that he can be in the midst of the social disturbances affecting the whole world and still have the confidence of all, and his honor and integrity be not shaken. The murmur of applause that went over the court room when the court ordered Mr. Clark to take a four or five months vacation to regain his failing health indicated the estimation as a man he is held in by all. The world needs more men like S. H. H. Clark in positions similar to those he has filled.

The proceedings in the court were confined entirely to the question of rates of wages to roadmen; the opening statement of the court taking all other questions out of issue, as it was plainly evident that no question would be raised on rules and regulations not effecting wages. At this writing a decision has not been given, but whatever it may be on the wages question, the principle that has been established by this case is a victory for labor; it is an affirmation of what it has contended for. It gives the equitable rights it has tried to maintain the force of law. It opens a tribunal for the adjudication of differences. It makes unnecessary the use of the strike. Fair-minded and thinking men, whether associated with capital or labor, will rejoiceat such a result. None of the disorganizing influence to a system that follows a strike, or the dissatisfaction and personal feelings which in a degree has the same effect when conferences have been long and unsatisfactory, need follow this method of adjusting differences.

Let labor now be as vigilant in preparing for the use of this method as it has in perfecting the machinery to strike and support a strike, and it need have no fear of losing ground, but can be assured that it will advance on to higher ground every time it moves. The man is either a fool or a

knave who will advise or persue any other course. The doubting ones could say that "it is of no use, any other than the old methods," till now, when it has been demonstrated otherwise. May from now on labor take its true place in society, using it as a part of it for establishing right.

A QUESTION arose at Omaha while the representatives of the employes were there as to the claims for recognition of the organization known as the American Railway Union. A demand was made by the representatives of the union that they be admitted to the councils of the seven orders that had united in the legal contest, and by the united demand get into the conference with Mr. Clark. That there may be no misunderstanding as to the reason the union was refused, the circumstances surrounding the move must be considered. The united orders had all agreements and a recognized standing with the company, maintained in some cases for many years. The beneficial results from their work was enjoyed by all on the system, whether they supported any of them or not. The question at issue was the maintenance of the recognition of the right to act through organization, basing the claim on what had resulted in time past. This would be accomplished if past results could be maintained. An organization without a standing and without recognition gained prior to the proceedings had no place in the contest. For the others to have supported such would have been to impliedly waive the claim they were contesting for. By the tone of their representatives it was plainly to be seen that the object was to ride safely into recognition through the force of the position others held, otherwise they would have seen that they could support the principle involved, i. e., the right to organize at all, by quietly supporting the others in the contest. But the American Railway Union demonstrated, at least under its present leaders, that it was illy prepared to aid anything. It was no time to try and do business on the town meeting plan. The worst thing that could happen while this contest in the courts was on would be to arouse the suspicion that a strike of the employes was contemplated, and to foster the doubt that the courts could not be depended upon, yet this was just what Debs, as the head of the union, commenced on his arrival at Omaha. He could be excused at the start on a claim of ignorance as to the position Union Pacific men had taken, but to repeat this after he had been enlightened as to the situation forfeited all claim he may have had to attention, other than condemnation of his acts. And in view of the results of the trial, it is demonstrated that his presence was not necessary to save the Union Pacific employes. They have demonstrated that they were quite able

to take care of themselves. We have no fault to find with the organization or its principles—may it grow and prosper—but we have fault to find with the action of the leaders in this matter. The methods they advised at Omaha may prove successful, but there are plenty of railroad systems unorganized, on which they can experiment without deranging methods adopted by Union Pacific employes, at least, not until after their methods have failed. The representatives of the Union Prcific employes were there on a business basis, to sustain a matter of vital importance to all organizations on all systems. It was no time to consider questions of fraternal sentimentality. It is to their credit they held to that policy.

THE uniting of the engineers, firemen, conductors, telegraphers, switchmen, trainmen and Knights of Labor organizations in the contest against proposed changes in existing rules, regulations and schedules, while without any pre-arranged plan, probably made as strong a federation of railroad labor as has ever yet been affected, and ought to lead to the perfection of some plan that can be generally adopted, and in view of passing events, the striking machinery of the various organizations need be given little attention. The expense of maintaining that can be turned into a better channel. It remains to be seen now, in view of the success of the new departure in railroad labor in defending its rights, whether men will drop their prejudices and unite in a way that will assure success in the future. To be prepared to act, by knowing how and where to act, is the secret of success. Some plan ought to be arranged that will reduce the number of petty grievances to the minimum. Numerous grievance committees are a source of expense and more than anything else make obnoxious organizations. It would seem as if some plan could be devised on a great railway system whereby these matters could be handled expeditiously, without the use of a host of committees and a large part of the time of managing officials. The intelligence of organized labor ought to be sufficient to perfect some method through which such ends would result. This ought to be made at once a subject for discussion at all meetings of railroad labor organization. The safe-guards that organized capital adopt may be found applicable to the needs or organized labor. Judge Caldwell's opinion places them in the same legal position.

WORKMEN who would prefer to stand on the basis that labor has stood on for years must be counted as "back numbers." They are not up with the spirit of the times.

RAILWAY EMPLOYES AND THEIR DUTY IN FUTURE.

Ever since March 15, 1894, the eyes of railway magnates, judges, lawyers, chiefs of labor organizations and railway employes generally have been directed toward Omaha, Neb., because of a higher idea of settling disputes between them and their employers. If the employes are successful in getting the court to sustain them in the method pursued since February 7 they need no longer fear the necessity of a strike. Nor need they any longer ask the lawmakers to enact arbitration laws that prove to be worthless. By not asking the chiefs of the various labor organizations to be present at the conference between themselves and the receivers they have again demonstrated to the world that there are brains or intelligence enough among the Union Pacific men to safely guard their own interests.

No doubt a great many who have been watching their movements have been sorely disappointed because of the unity of methods among them. This is the first time in the history of the labor movement on railroads where all concerned entered into a contest for their rights in a business-like manner. It is the first time in the history of the labor movement on the Union Pacific system that the principle established by the employes' organization, under the jurisdiction of District Assembly No. 82, Knights of Labor, have at least been partially carried out by all who entered the legal contest. On March 27 seven chairmen of as many different organizations will once more be on record in the United States court pledged to stand or fall together; pledged to submit the differences between themselves and their employers for adjudication to the best forum that our civilization, with centuries of experience, has been able to devise.

If old channels have been followed by some of the judges, we have then pursued the proper course by adopting a method by which in time we can *educate those* who have always viewed our services to a corporation as a commodity to consider the question from a higher stand. We may now hope to eventually add another amendment to our national constitution that will abolish a system of slavery that came into more practical use since the abolition of chattel slavery, and establish a precedent that may gradually teach all alike that all useful labor is for the public good.

The investors of money—the representative of past labor—in manufacturing enterprises, the corporations that transport the products, the merchant from whom we purchase the necessities and comforts of life, may in the future agree that our interests are identical, or at least they should be. Before they can be convinced of these facts we have another very important duty to perform. Railway managers are not responsible for the periodical panics that cause a depression in their business. The owners of railroad and other stocks are not to blame for the depreciation in the value of their stocks and investments. But there are causes for this, and before we can ever be of any great benefit to ourselves as organized laborers these causes must be studied, our education, our intelligence, must be directed to remove the cause. We can come to the rescue of the employers of labor in railway circles by removing the causes of the present conditions, and at the same time help ourselves and others similarly situated.

The Knights of Labor have for years been educating the masses on these lines, but they alone are yet in the minority.

The next step for railway employes to take is to adopt the same unity of action on political issues that have been adopted on the Union Pacific system since February 7. By giving more attention to the causes of the troubles confronting all producers at this time, we will have more time to attend to our real interests and supply the wants and needs of our

selves and those dependent upon us.

It is unfair to condemn the representatives of the people (?) from the fact that there never has been for "lo these thirty years" or more enough of them selected by us to clothe our legislative machinery with sufficient power to enact laws for our benefit. All our efforts in state legislation should be directed toward the one grand issue of direct legislation—"the initiative and referendum." Give the people an opportunity to make good laws, or veto bad or useless laws, and we can safely trust to their intelligence to have a code established that will leave those of the past to be scorned, or held in contempt, as coming from a semi-barbarous civilization.

H. BREITENSTEIN.

Laramie, Wyo.

UNION OF REFORM FORCES.

To form a branch of the Union for Practical Progress in a new locality, three earnest persons only are required. Three hundred could make a better start, but three may begin with every promise of success. They should first assume corporate life by adopting the name of the union. They should then take up the particular measure being urged by the national union for the month in which their meeting is held. If this first meeting is held during March of this year, the three persons assembled would, no doubt, fall into line with the cities now organized, and urge the programme of the union for this month, which is to combat the "sweating system." A letter would then be drafted and mailed to each clergyman and labor leader of the locality, asking them to speak out on a specified Sunday, or during the week following, in condemnation of this evil. They might be asked to urge their hearers to aid in securing such legislation as will empower the city boards of health to summarily close those factories in which human beings are physically ruined because of unhealthful conditions, and where contagious diseases are nursed before emerging to prey upon society.

In every case a definite reply should be requested. A concise bibliography of the subject, with special reference to recent magazine contributions, should be inclosed for the use of clergymen not familiar with the facts concerning the evil, and for the use of the committees on resolutions to be appointed by the various societies. The answers to the letters should be reviewed and a detailed report prepared. First, a list should be made of the names, addresses and churches of all who join in the life-saving work. Another list should be prepared containing names, addresses and churches of those who refuse to speak against the evil being combated simultaneously throughout the country. Still another list should be prepared, of those who refuse even to take notice of the appeal. The report containing these lists should be published to the world every month, and one copy sent to the national secretary, to be filed for future reference. By this method it will not take long to solve the much-vexed question as to what portion of the church is devoted to human welfare, and what proportion stands directly in the way of progress.

By means of the permanent and centralized machinery of the Union for Practical Progress, a new moral issue will be presented to the people each month. Instead of a dissolution of the movement after one measure has been pressed, another will be brought immediately forward, and the public conscience will be kept as eternally active as the private interests that prey upon society. The organization will have sufficient elasticity to take up any and every measure approved by the average disinterested conscience, and its permanent and perfect means of communication, binding together all human aggregations founded upon a moral idea, will offer for the first time a connecting nerve attaching the conscience and expert knowledge of society to the force capable of making their desires effective.—Walter Vrooman in The Arena.

DISCIPLINE WITHOUT PUNISHMENT.

The usual penalty for a serious violation of rules on American railroads is dismissal from the service. Minor infractions are usually punished by depriving the offender of employment for a fixed time, ten thirty or sixty days—few roads have adopted the European practice of direct fines. In my estimation, as a rule, these forms of punishment are as unjust and inhuman as they are unnecessary,

It is a well understood principle in jurisprudence that a law without a penalty for its violation partakes more of the nature of advice than of a law.

The rules and regulations governing the running of trains on a railroad are laws, and should be so considered, and penalties for their violation are not wanting.

The responsible officer or officers of a railroad must act as judges, try every case, make every decision and punish every violator. It is not only their right, but their duty, to be strict in maintaining discipline. They have no right to excuse one offender and punish another, but must try every case on the calendar.

Penalties are imposed for two purposes: First, to uphold the law and prevent its further violation, and, second, to reform the violator.

Punishment inflicted indirectly benefits thousands who do not violate the law as well as the one who does.

It often occurs that the disgrace and injury occasioned by a strict enforcement of a sentence does more to ruin the guilty than anything else, and a wise provision has been made allowing courts to use their judgment as to carrying out punishments; this is known as "suspending sentence." If the some-time offender does better, and is not guilty of the same or other offenses, the judge conveniently forgets the indictment hanging over him, but should he go on commiting one misdemeanor after another, his "record" rises up to condemn *him.*

I believe in and practice "suspending sentence" with railroad employes.

Officers of railroads differ from judges of the law in that they make the law and enforce it, while the judge administers the law as he finds it. If the people are dissatisfied with the laws they change them, but there is no appeal from the decision of the railway official, who performs the functions of judge, jury, executioner.

Railroad officers who hire, discipline and discharge employes cannot be too careful in exercising their authority, and no honest one can afford to decide on a single case without first "putting himself in the other man's place." In other words, treat him as he himself would consider just and honorable if the sentence was to be pronounced on him, and the decision should be made impassionately, impartially, and giving him the benefit of all doubts.

Accidents have happened on railroads since the starting of the "Puffing Billy" until to-day, and are likely to happen as long as railroads are operated.

Every wreck, every accident, every mistake, every loss has taught its lesson, and these are of no less value to the railroads and to railroad men than the successes. I practice making every mishap a lesson to every man on the road.

It often happens that an accident or a "close shave" for one is the best kind of a lesson to the man who could be blamed, and, if he is retained in the service, he is a more valuable man than he would otherwise be or who could be hired to take his place.

I am afraid that it would do me no good, and would do me harm, to lay me off for thirty days for any offense, and I am sure I would do no better when reinstated than if I had been allowed to continue in the service. I should feel as if I had been ill-treated, as if my family had been deprived of the necessaries and comforts that my earnings afford them, and they were the innocent victims of an injustice.

In order to make every accident and incident happening on the road a lesson

to all the trainmen, I established, ten or twelve years ago, what I call a Miscellaneous Bulletin Board.

On this we post up brief accounts of mishaps and other occurrences on the line, pointing out how such trouble could be avoided, etc. This board is closely scrutinized. We do not mention names, but, of course, the men know "who's who" in most cases. This board has done much to keep the men on their guard, prevented many accidents, and shows them how headquarters look at every case, instead of letting them discuss every accident around the round house and caboose stoves, and form their own conclusions—no two of which will be alike.

* * * * * * *

We put up a notice that at the end of the year, we will pay a cash premium of $60 to every freight conductor whose services have been entirely satisfactory. It speaks well for the men when our report shows that forty-five out of fifty-six conductors were awarded premiums.

* * * * * * *

We also way premiums to section foremen for best kept track.

For the trainmen we keep a record-book.

This book is never shown to any employe, except that page which is his personal record.

In it I write down a brief statement of every irregularity for which a man is responsible. This record takes the place of the "lay off" and is dreaded fully as much; the man goes to work at once and no one but himself suffers, and he only in reputation at headquarters.

We are very careful in the selection of our men, promote all our own engineers and conductors, and in a few months of a year or two our record tells us whether they are "adapted for the business" or not.

We have engineers who have been running here more than twenty-five years, without a scratch of the pen against them; while others, who have been running as many months, have quite a page full of irregular "circumstances;" but down near the bottom of such a page can generally be found the word "discharged"—incompetent.

When a man commences to "make a record" (in the book), we call him in and talk with him. He is reminded that, if this gets too long, we shall have to consider him a failure for our service; show him his weakness—if we know it—and give him another chance. But he understands that it will not be entirely for the last offense that he is dismissed—the "suspended sentence" cases are against him.

With this system the good men are retained, developed, benefitted and encouraged, and the culls are got rid of to the betterment of the service all around.

It is well understood that we do not wish to retain in the service men who deliberately deceive us about mishaps on the road; we want the "straight" of every matter, and we want it at first hands. It would be a very lively spotter who could get to my office sooner than some of the men who are responsible for accidents. If it is not serious enough for dismissal the matter is overlooked or made a matter of record, and the man goes out on his regular run. Then the "Miscellaneous Board" has another object lesson on it.

If there is anything that will stimulate a good man, who has become careless enough to make a lapse of duty that "gets him in the book," more than that simple record, I do not know what it is. They beg not to be "put on record," but when the record is made and the victim warned to look out and attend to business in future, and to take his run out in the morning, he goes away with a mental vow not to be caught again—and some of the records are years apart. In some cases one memorandum is made, and never an occasion given for a second one.

Good men who have made some little mistake, are less likely to do so again than men who have not yet tried the responsibilities of running trains and engines, or men who are not familiar

ment a part of the organic law of their respective associations.

After this follow rules for the creation and guidance of the joint committee referred to.

The action taken by the Pennsylvania Association of Master Painters and Decorators in inviting representatives from the journeymen's association to meet them at the York convention, the temperate spirit of the discussion there, and the evident willingness of the journeymen to enter into a reasonable agreement with the masters, shows that the times are ripe for such action on the part of the building industries of this country.

Heretofore, when any movement in the line of progress has been taken, the master painters' associations have not proved themselves laggards, but have manifested by practical work their determination to keep in the fore front. Here is an opportunity to end forever that unwholesome strife, that spirit of rancor and bitterness which has grown up between the masters and the men during the lifetime of members of the associations who can by no means lay claim to being veterans in the craft. Will the associations cast this golden opportunity aside, and thinking only of immediate selfish ends fail to adopt this method which offers to end the conflict, the bitterness and the heartburnings involved in the present aspect of the labor question; or will they meet their men as brethren, and laying down all past animosity of feeling, treat them with that true spirit of humanity which teaches us to love our neighbor as ourselves?

The old fable tells us that the cold north wind, though it blew with all its might, only caused the traveler to wrap his cloak tighter about him, but when the sun beamed down upon him, the friendly warmth soon caused him to cast it aside. So the spirit of brotherly love and human kindness, if allowed to enter into our business life and our dealings with our men, will, like the warm rays of the sun, soon cause the cloak of unreasonable prejudice to be thrown aside; and when the labor question has been stripped of its mantle of prejudice and ignorance, it will be found that its settlement is no great matter of difficulty, nor one that involves loss of self respect nor unreasonable concessions on the part of either masters or men.—*Painting and Decorating.*

When the working of the present social anarchy is examined, it is so absurd that it would be funny but for the misery it entails. People are told to be industrious and frugal. Let us see results: A young man takes up a worthless piece of land on which the tax is $5 a year. He fences it and the tax is increased. He plants an orchard and the tax is increared. He builds a home and again his fine is increased. By his skill and knowledge he brings the soil up to high fertility and he is fined still more. He is fined every time he makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before. Or, the people of some town are idle and want work. Some of them organize this labor and begin to give these men a chance to create something. Everybody feels the beneficent influence, and they proceed at once to fine (tax) the men for being industrious. The more industrious the greater the fine. And practically all these fines are paid to a set of men who busy themselves at keeping accounts of these fines and dividing it among themselves and do absolutely nothing of value to the workers. And these industrious workers rear up on their hind legs and swear there would be no incentive to work if they were not fined and that they could not possibly exist without these useless officials! All of which makes me feel like going out behind the barn and taking a good laugh at the childish gullibility of the bipeds who think they are "men" and know something.—*Coming Nation.*

The great tunnel through the Santa Lucia Mountains, Cala., which the Southern Pacific company has been boring for more than a year past, was pierced recently. It is nearly 4,000 feet long.

LESSONS OF THE HOUR.

In the new and distressing situation in regard to the unemployed, some of the most energetic and practical measures for its amelioration have been proposed and are being carried out by women. These efforts are worthy of all praise because of their direct results; but even more valuable will be the indirect results if thereby women shall come to see how far their own selfish demands are responsible for the evil under which they discover that working women and girls are suffering. If in their attempt to better the relations between the employer and the employed in dry goods establishments, they shall come to realize that it is for their convenience that this business is carried on, that they are in fact co-employers and can do the larger part in securing just and humane conditions for labor, then the gain for all parties will be indeed great.

Let them consider first what should be their attitude toward the "bargains," so alluring at the present moment. If goods are really "cheap," that is, if they are sold below what ought to be the cost of their manufacture, they are either not worth buying or some one has been cheated in the making or selling of them. The seekers after bargains need to realize that they are helping to keep down the wages of the employes in shops, and the wages of the men and women who make cheap goods. The buyers of ready-made clothing, in particular, need to reflect how little difference there is between their own act and the buying of stolen goods, since one necessary element of the cheapness of this class of goods is that a part of the working time of helpless women practically has been stolen. To spend one-half of the day in "friendly visitation," or in finding work for the idle, will not neutralize the harm done in the other half, by passing from one bargain counter to another and thereby encouraging the continuance of this feature of the dry goods trade.

Shopping after 5 o'clock is another thing which every woman with the good of others at heart should forswear resolutely. Although it may be greatly to her own convenience to choose that hour, let her reflect that by so doing she helps to established the custom of long working hours for the shop-girl. For the same reasons let her abstain from shopping Saturday afternoon, in order to favor the universal adoption of Saturday afternoon as a half-holiday.

Still another profitable reflection for women purchasers would be to consider how far greater consideration of behavior on their own part would lighten the burdens of the over-burdened shop people. Tne young person behind the counter has her trying ways, no doubt, and in the past we have heard chiefly that side of the question; but has the conduct on the other side always been marked by kindness and consideration? In these new conditions of contact between the purchasing community and the selling community, we may hope that a more humane spirit will develop, and a sense of sisterhood supplant the old attitude of almost antagonism. When a woman listens to the stories she may hear now any day—stories of girls who were supporting whole famalies on their meager salaries of $4 and $5 a week, and how now they have lost even that; of women who are on the verge of insanity from underfeeding and anxiety; of mothers who beg to be allowed to forgo their midday lunch, costing ten cents, in order to take that sum home to their families—she is not likely hereafter to be too hard on a class showing such splendid capacity for self-denial and devotion to others.

It is said frequently, and it cannot be repeated too often, that it is not money —money to be expended in charity— that is the greatest need of the present hour of emergency. This is a cheering thought, for everyone wishes to do one's part, yet not everyone can command money aside from one's own necessities; nor can everyone spare the leisure for friendly visiting or serving on committees of ways and means. But nearly every-

one, by looking at the matter closely enough, will discover that he or she has some relation to this great problem. Thus out of all this sorrow and suffering and privation a great good will result if happier conditions shall come to prevail in consequence, and warmer and better relations be established because of this closer contact between persons from different walks in life, and representing different classes in the community.—*Chicago Tribune.*

Urged on the one hand by the necessity of meeting competition, both in this country and abroad, and on the other by the demands for higher wages made by the workmen, shift has been made to improve appliances so that the cost of producing a ton of iron should not rise, nay, should fall. What cost 6s. in wages thirty years ago costs under 3s. to-day, and yet the wage of each individual man is higher than it was then, and the gross wages infinitely larger than they were. What does this mean? Why, that better results have been obtained out of the individual man, and yet his labor has been lessened and his condition improved, and this has been accomplished chiefly by placing better tools in his hands. I regret to be constrained to say that in effecting this change little or no help has been rendered by the workmen, and in recent years there has been an increased tendency to place obstacles in the way.

Those who, dreaming of a new heaven and a new earth, would have us believe that by legislation or otherwise the effects of competition can be avoided, appear to lose sight of the essential conditions under which the industry of Great Britain is conducted. But it would lead us too far afield to discuss the very difficult problem which is here presented. Moreover, it is, in my judgment, not necessary to deal with it in order to improve the condition of the inhabitants of this country. If we heard less about the rights of labor, and more about its duties, I should feel greater confidence in the future. As long as men are taught to believe that a duty is laid on society to provide for all its members, and not that a duty rests with each individual to justify his place in the world, so long we shall have crowds of so-called "unemployed" clamoring for the work which they will not perform when it is offered.—Hugh Bell in *London National Review.*

The independent shoemaker has been displaced by the shoe factory, and has become a slave to the capitalist; the "village blacksmith" has degenerated into a mere repairer of factory work; the weaver has met the same fate; carpenters are merely machines to put in place work of great factories, and do a little "choring;" printers are tasting the beauties of trying to compete with machines, and so on down all the list of vocations. The backbone of the nation is the farmer. He has remained conservative and taken no notice of the changes going on all about him. But he is doomed. Already he is feeling, but knows not the cause, the advance of monopoly in his domain. Bonanza farms are making big dividends at prices that are forcing the farmers to borrow money and mortgage. It is only a matter of time. These mortgaged farms can be operated on bonanza scales at a profit. They will be gathered in by the aid of the sheriff. Then the "independent farmer" will begin his life drudgery in the service of capitalists, as the other occupations are doing, and will feel all the horrors of the tenants of Scotland or Italy. It's coming, and I am glad of it. It will bring a change.—*Coming Nation.*

Despotism is the creator of Nihilism and king-killers. The unjust distribution of the products of labor is the creator of poverty and crime. Society can never be happy with two such monstrous evils.

Ambition for wealth makes every man an Ishmaelite; sets him against his neighbor.

HOW TO PROTECT WAGES.

About the meanest and most contemptible thing on record is the practice of those manufacturers who, although having no orders for goods, insist on cutting down the prices paid for labor. Perhaps these employers think that because times are hard, reductions will be submitted to more readily than would be the case when business again starts up, and that the expense of resistance in the way of strikes by the employes will be thereby avoided.

There is a lesson in this for those working people who do not believe in organized effort when business is good, but rely only on the justice and liberality of their employers for fair wages. These people may now see, perhaps, that employers as a rule are not disposed to pay any more for labor than they are obliged to pay, just the same as they buy for the lowest price anything else that goes to make up their product. Unless those who labor are organized and prepared to act as a unit to maintain good wages in good times, and prevent the reduction in dull times of wages that are already too low, this same thing will go on year after year.

We may expect to see a revival of the spirit of organization among the wage-earners upon the return of prosperous times. This has always been the case. They remain unorganized, or at least but poorly organized—with a few notable exceptions—until cut-downs are made and they are forced by their condition to accept them; then after struggling along for a while they conclude to get together and "demand" an advance in wages. Had they done this years ago and maintained a good organization, and conducted it on a good financial basis, they might have saved for themselves the amount lost by several cut-downs.

The experience of the last few months should be sufficient to show that the labor organizations which have escaped cut-downs, and whose members have been able to best survive the hard times, are those which in times of peace prepared for war by making their unions financially solid. Unless the example of the members of these unions is followed we may soon have to stop talking of the "pauper labor of Europe" and lament for the pauperized laborers of America.

That wages in America are on almost a pauper level was shown last summer when within a few months after the panic began a great portion of the working population were dependent upon charity. It is indeed deplorable that intelligent, industrious working men and women should be compelled to work for wages that cause them to live within a few months of the poorhouse; but without labor organizations even these wages are not secure from the attacks of employers who want to gain a point on their competitors.

The policy of "protection to American labor," so called, has not afforded the protection promised by the politicians, and thousands have found this out to their sorrow and cost during the last half year.

The best and most reliable "protection" the wages of American laborers can have is that which comes through the thorough organization of the laborers themselves.—*The Laster.*

THE GRINDING OF THE MILLS.

Sounding, sounding,
Loud o'er the din of cities,
Breaking, crashing, clangorous,
Over the hills of earth:
Mocking the shrieks of the changers,
Changers who stand in the temple,
Rumbling, rolling, pitiless—
These are the mills of the world.

Sounding, sounding,
Low from the hills of dream-land,
Sweet o'er the paths of childhood,
Just to the farthest reckoning;
Wood echoes, harp-strings singing,
Blent with the splash of waters,
Faint, but so sure—
These are the mills of God.

—*John James Meehan (a March Lippincott's.*

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The proceedings in the case of Employes vs. Receivers, by order of the court, is to be printed in book form. It may be that arrangements can be made to have extra copies printed to supply the demand and furnished at the actual cost. There is doubt as to how many will be wanted. We would like to hear from parties who would like a copy, that an effort to supply them may be made at once.

F. E. Gilliland, chairman of the general committee of the telegraphers of the system, deserves the commendation and support of every telegrapher on the system for the ability shown in managing the details of the conference of the representatives of his order and the receivers, and the constancy shown in pushing for and securing results. Of all the classes effected by the changes proposed by the receivers, the telegraphers were the worst. They come out of it on better ground than before.

A quarterly report is due from each local assembly April 1. In view of the passing events of momentous importance to labor, there should be a marked increase seen over the reports for last quarter. It was due to organized labor, and efforts through its power, that has elevated labor at all above the most degraded slave, and it must be by efforts made through that channel which must maintain such gains and make possible further advances. There never was a time when the person forced to labor for the wage of another, and will not aid the improvement of his own and his children's condition by uniting with others, deserved the scorn and contempt of his fellow men as at present. Such men cannot do enough during the rest of their days to repay their fellow men for what they have done for them.

Resolutions of Local Assembly No. 1663, Pocatello, Idaho, fully indorse the action of the executive board of District Assembly No. 82 in seeking to settle the existing difficulties in a legal and intelligent manner before resorting to a strike. A strike is but a resort to brute force and, therefore, a relic of barbarism, and should only be used as a last resort, while the ballot box is free to better our condition. The evil is a deep-seated one, and can only be remedied by intelligent action at the ballot box.

EDWARD JOSEPH,
Recording Secretary.
POCATELLO, March 24, 1894.

May 1 will be the tenth anniversary of the first general awakening of Union Pacific employes to the need of organizations. It was then when a general order for a reduction of wages caused all to realize the helplessness of the individual and the strength of being united. It was then when the foundation was laid for the building of District Assembly No. 82. A history of all the events that have intervened up to the present time would make an interesting story. The organization has never failed to be at the front in any move for the general good. There are many who remember the early beginning of organization on the system on broad yet business lines. Mistakes have been made in matters of detail, but never in the support of general principles which it has advocated. And it has done much of the pioneer work in raising the consideration of labor's rights above a contemptible struggle between master and servant to one between man and man, which is the practical meaning of the consideration of the labor question in

the federal courts of this circuit. This result may be its final work or it may go on broadening the ground thus prepared, opening up new avenues for the establishment of the principles of justice, depending entirely on the will of the men who reap the immediate benefits of its work.

JUDGE CALDWELL'S DECISION.

The decision of Judge Caldwell, in which Judge Riner concurred, is as follows:

On the 13th day of October, 1893, on a bill filed for that purpose, this court took into its possession, control and management the Union Pacific railway system, embracing the Union Pacific railway proper, and some fourteen other constituent and allied roads, which together constitute what is known as the Union Pacific system.

Whether the bill states a case of equitable cognizance justifying the appointment of receivers has not been mooted on this hearing, and we, therefore, express no opinion upon that question.

The system of which this court assumed the management and control comprised 7,700 miles of railroad and about 3,000 miles of water communication, and had in its employ over 22,000 men. The great body of these men had been in the employ of the company for a considerable length of time, some of them for as much as a quarter of a century. The relations of these men to the company and their rate of wages were determined in the main by certain written rules, regulations and schedules, some of which had been in force for more than a quarter of a century, and all of which had been in force, substantially as they stand to-day, for a period of eight years and more. These rules, regulations and schedules were the result of free and voluntary conferences, held from time to time, between the managers of the railroad and the officers and representatives of the several labor organizations representing the men in the different subdivisions or branches of the service, viz.: The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Order of Railway Telegraphers, the Union Pacific Employes' Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. These labor organizations, like the rules, regulations and schedules, had become established institutions on this system many years before the appointment of the receivers. Two of the ablest railroad managers ever in the service of this system, and probably as able as any this country has ever produced—Mr. S. H. H. Clark and Mr. Edward Dickinson, now general manager of the road—testify that these labor organizations on this system had improved the morals and efficiency of the men and had rendered valuable aid to the company in perfecting and putting into force the rules and regulations governing the operation of the Union Pacific railway, which, confessedly, have made it one of the best managed and conducted roads in the country. The managers of this great trans-continental line testify that it has been their policy to bring it up to the highest standard of efficiency and to afford to passengers and property transported over it all the security and protection attainable by the exercise of the highest degree of intelligence on the part of those engaged in the operation of its trains, and they cheerfully bear testimony to the fact that their efforts in this direction have been seconded and materially aided by the labor organizations which are represented in this hearing. The good opinion of the men entertained by the managers seems to be shared by the receivers, for in their petition to the court in this matter they declare: "That the employes, generally, upon the Union Pacific system are reasonable, intelligent, peaceable and law-abiding men."

The court then set forth the facts of the petition of the receivers, the order of Judge Dundy, the intervention of the employes, the action of the courts for the districts of Colorado and Wyoming, the order of the circuit court, ordering a conference, and the final hearing before the circuit court at Omaha, and says:

In compliance with the terms of this order a conference between Mr. Clark and his assistants and the officers of the several labor organizations representing the employes of the court was held in Omaha. At this conference an agreement was reached as to the rules, regulations and schedules relating to the train dispatchers and operators, which have been reported to the court and confirmed. This was one of the most difficult schedules in the whole list to adjust, and the satisfactory agreement reached in the conference shows the great value of a good tempered, calm and intelligent inquiry in which both sides are represented, and in which both sides learned, perhaps for the first time, the ground on which the demand is made by the one and resisted by the other. The receivers had declared to the court, in their petition filed on the 27th day of January, 1894, "That after careful consideration of the matter and consultation with the managing officials of the Union Pacific system, they are of the opinion that the so-called rules, regulations and schedules of pay for train dispatchers and operators are entirely unnecessary, and they have, therefore, not only decided to disaffirm the same, but they have also decided that they will not prepare or establish any rules and regulations in lieu thereof, and with respect thereto your receivers further advise your honors that all of the said train dispatchers and telegraph operators are employed on monthly salaries, which are determined in consideration of

all the circumstances of each particular case, and are intended to cover all of the services and all the time necessary in which to perform the service required from each of said train dispatchers and operators at the several respective stations on the line of the Union Pacific system."

And yet at the conference held under the order of the circuit judges the position assumed by the receivers, in their petition to the court, was found to be untenable and was abandoned, and rules and regulations governing telegraphers' wages adopted.

It would serve no useful purpose here to state the causes which, in the opinion of the court, prevented an agreement between the conferees upon rules, regulations and schedules for the other branches of the service. It is sufficient to say that they were of a character which do not in any degree militate against the usefulness or efficacy of conferences or the ability or fairness of conferees. Freed from the state of things brought about by the erroneous proceedings of a majority of the receivers in the beginning of this business, it is highly probable that the conferees would have agreed upon all the schedules. Failing to agree, the matter was brought before the court, in accordance with the order made by the circuit judges. At the appointed time the receivers appeared in person and by attorney, and the employes by the officers of the several labor organizations to which they belong and by their attorneys. Upon calling the case for hearing, the court directed an order to be entered setting aside and vacating the order of court made on the 27th day of January, 1894, approving the rules, regulations and schedules framed by the receivers without notice to or conference with the employes affected thereby, and also setting aside and vacating the order of injunction entered at the same time. The court then announced to counsel that the rules, regulations and schedules in force when the receivers were appointed were still in force and would be held and treated as prima facie just and reasonable, and that the burden was cast upon the receivers to show that the wages received by the court's employes under the existing regulations were in excess of a fair, just and reasonable compensation for the service performed, taking into consideration all the circumstances and in view of the existing conditions.

The hearing proceeded on these lines, and the court listened for a week to the testimony of of witnesses.

Before stating the conclusions we have reached upon the facts it will be well to state the leading principles which courts of equity must keep in view in this class of cases. When a court of equity takes upon itself the conduct and operation of a great line of railroad the men engaged in conducting the business and operating the road become the employes of the court, and are subject to its orders in all matters relating to the discharge of their duties, and entitled to its protection. The first and supreme duty of a court, when it engages in the business of operating a railroad, is to operate it efficiently and safely. No pains and no reasonable expense are to be spared in the accomplishment of these ends. Passengers and freight must be transported safely. If passengers are killed or freight lost through the slightest negligence to provide all the means of safety commonly found on first class roads, the court is morally and legally responsible. An essential and indispensable requisite to the safe and successful operation of the road is the employment of sober, intelligent, experienced and capable men for that purpose. When a road comes under the management of a court on which the employes are conceded to possess all these qualifications—and that concession is made in the fullest manner here—the court will not, upon light or trivial grounds, dispense with their services or reduce their wages. And when the schedule of wages in force at the time the court assumes the management of the road is the result of a mutual agreement between the company aed the employes which has been in force for years, the court will presume the schedule is reasonable and just, and any one disputing that presumption will be required to overthrow it by satisfactory proof.

It is suggested that upon this question the court ought to be governed by the recommendation of a majority of the receivers. The suggestion is without merit in this case for several reasons. Four of the five receivers are not practical railroad men, and are not familiar with the subject; two of them are lawyers residing in New York, one a merchant residing in Chicago, and one a railroad accountant, having, doubtless, a thorough knowledge of the books of the company, but knowing nothing about the wage schedules. These four gentlemen are eminent in the line of their professions and pursuits, and entirely capable of managing the financial affairs of this great trust, for which purpose they were, doubtless, selected, but their opinions upon the subject of wage schedules is confessedly of little value. The court shares in their anxiety to have an economical administration of this trust to the end that those who own the property and have liens upon it may get out of it what is fairly their due. But to accomplish this desirable result the wages of the men must not be reduced below a reasonable and just compensation for their services. They must de paid fair wages, though no dividends are paid on the stock and no interest paid on the bonds. It is a part of the public history of the country, of which the court will take judicial notice, that for the first $36,000,000 of stock issued this company received less than 2 cents on the dollar, and that the profit of construction, represented by outstanding bonds, was $43,929,328.34. These facts are disclosed by the report of the commission of the United States Pacific railway company" in 1887, of which Mr. Anderson, one of the receivers in this case, was a member. (See Report, pp. 51, 137.) There would seem to be no equity in reducing the wages of the employes

below what is reasonable and just in order to pay dividends on stock and interest on bonds of this character. The recommendation of the receivers to adopt their schedules cannot be accepted by the court for another reason. That schedule was adopted without affording to the men or their representatives any opportunity to be heard. This was in violation of the agreement existing between the company and the men, by the terms of which no change of the schedules was to be made without notice to the men and granting them a hearing. This was a fundamental error. The receivers should have given notice and invited the men to a conference even if there was no contract requiring it. In answer to this objection to their mode of proceeding it is said the order of the receivers and the order of the court extended an opportunity to the men to protest against the new schedules after their adoption. The men could have small hopes of a fair and impartial hearing after the receivers had prepared new schedules behind their backs which were declared by the receivers and the court to be prima facie just and reasonable. This was very much like first hanging a man and trying him afterward. It is small consolation to the victim of the mob to be told he shall have a trial after he is hanged. It is further said that the receivers had the right to renounce the old schedules and adopt the new ones because the old ones were mere executory contracts. There are some executory contracts which receivers may renounce, but they cannot claim the benefit of such contracts and at the same time renounce their burdens. This is precisely what was attempted to be done by the receivers in this matter; they renounced the old schedules and adopted new ones reducing wages, but seemingly with no idea of absolving the men from the duty of continuing to work and operate the road, for in their petition they ask that their schedules be confirmed by the court, "and all of the said employes directed to conform thereto." The receivers were the first to break the contract between the court and its employes, but if the converse had been the case the court could not have directed or enjoined the men to continue in its service. Specific performance of a contract to render personal service cannot be enforced by injunction, by pains and penalties or by any other means. For a breach of such a contract the only redress the law affords is a civil action for the damages.

The court is asked to apply to the employes in its service the principles of the early English statutes, which, by the imposition of heavy pains and penalties, forced laborers to work at fixed wages and made it an offense to seek to increase them or to quit the service of their employer. The period of compulsory personal service, save as a punishment for crime, has passed in this country. In this country it is not unlawful for employes to associate, consult and confer together with a view to maintain or increase their wages by lawful and peaceful means, any more than it was unlawful for the receivers to counsel and confer together for the purpose of reducing their wages. A corporation is organized capital; it is capital consisting of money and property. Organized labor is organized capital; it is capital consisting of brains and muscle. What it is lawful for one to do it is lawful for the other to do. If it is lawful for the stockholders and officers of a corporation to associate and confer together for the purpose of reducing the wages of its employes or of devising other means of making their investments profitable. It is equally lawful for organized labor to associate, consult and confer with a view to maintain or increase wages. Both act from the promptings of enfightened selfishness, and the action of both are lawful when no illegal or criminal means are used or threatened.

It is due to the receivers and to the managers of this property to say that they have not questioned the right of the labor organizations to appear and be heard in court in this matter, and what they have said about these organizations has been in commendation of them and not in disparagement, men in all stations and pursuits in life have an undoubted right to join together for resisting oppression or for mutual assistance, improvement, instruction and pecuniary aid in time of sickness and distress. Such association commonly takes place between those pursuing the same occupation and possessing the same interests. This is particularly true of men engaged in the mechanical arts, and in all labor pursuits where skill and experience are required. The legality and utility of these organizations can no longer be questioned.

The action of the receivers is objectionable upon another ground. It would be difficult to devise any action better calculated to provoke a "strike." The method of adopting the new schedules was calculated to arouse resentment in the breast of every self-respecting, intelligent and independent man in the service. While they might have been willing to acquiesce in the reduction of their wages, they were quite sure to revolt against the manner of doing it. Whatever may be the legal right of a railroad corporation to reduce the wages of its employes or discharge them in a body without giving them an opportunity to be heard, a court of equity will not act in that manner or approve the action of its receivers who have acted in that manner. The receivers, no more than the court, should have undertaken to determine what wages were just and reasonable without giving the men an opportunity to be heard. It is fundamental in the jurisprudence of this country that no court can rightfully make an order or render a judgment affecting the rights of one who is absent and who has had no notice. The requirement that the court or any other tribunal shall hear before it decides is much older than the Magna Charta or our constitution. It was written in the book 3,000 years ago that "He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him."

A further and conclusive answer to the con-

tention in favor of putting the receivers' schedules in force is found in the fact that Mr. Clark, the only one of the receivers who is a practical railroad man, testifies that they ought not to be put into force without "some modifications."

As a result of the old code of rules and schedules, this company has been able to bring about into every branch of its service, at reasonable cost, intelligent and capable men, who have carefully guarded and protected its property and business interests, until the train service upon the Union Pacific is to-day equal to any of the great railway systems of the country. Upon the question of the reasonableness of the old schedules, we have had no trouble in coming to a satisfactory conclusion.

The record shows that all that portion of railroad mileage where excess mileage has been allowed runs through either a mountainous or a desert country, where the men engaged in the operation of trains have to contend with heavy grades, and where the winters are long and often severe, and where the hazard of operating is necessarily greatly increased. There is practically no agriculture and the cost of living is much greater than in an agricultural region. As stated by Mr. Dickinson, "It is a pretty tough place to live." The system of paying excess mileage, Mr. McConnell testifies, has been in vogue ever since the road was built, and was allowed because the company had difficulty in obtaining men who would stay in that region of country. If this system was a good thing for the company when operating the road, it is a good thing for the court when operating the road. As a result of this system men of intelligence and character have been induced to enter the service and to establish permanent homes in regions of country where there is practically no business except the business in which they are engaged, and where, for many reasons disclosed by the evidence, it is not desirable to live. A system of rules and regulations by which the company has been able to bring into its service and retain for twenty-five years, in some instances, the class of men who have appeared before the court at this hearing, is certainly commendable, and meets the entire approval of the court.

In the opinion of the court, the allowance made by the schedule now in force is just and equitable when all the conditions are considered. The employes, under the present system, share the burdens of diminished business. They make less mileage and get less pay per month. The rate now paid is not higher than the rate paid on other lines operated through similar country and under like conditions, and, in the opinion of the court, is not higher than it should be for the service rendered.

Some of these employes with large families to support are seldom more than a few days wages in advance of want, and if their present wages were materially reduced they could not live. The highest and best service cannot be expected from men who are compelled to live in a state of *pinch and want.*

It is a gratifying fact that the officers and representatives of the labor organizations of which the men interested in this hearing are members have unanimously assured the court that whatever judgment is rendered in this case will be accepted by the men as a settlement of the dispute, and that in no event, after such a hearing as has been accorded them in court, will they "strike." We are confident these assurances will be kept.

When property is in the custody of receivers the law declares it to be a contempt of the court appointing them for any person to interfere with the property or with the men in their employ. No injunctional order can make such unlawful interference any more of a contempt than the law makes it without such order. Such orders have an injurious tendency, because they tend to create the impression among men that it is not an offense to interfere with property in possession of receivers or with the men in their employ, unless they have been especially enjoined from so doing. This is a dangerous delusion. To the extent that a special injunction can go in this class of cases the law itself imposes an injunction. For this reason no injunctional order will be entered in this case.

In conclusion, we may be indulged in giving expression to the hope that in future differences about wages between courts and their employes, at least—and we would fain hope between all employers and employes—resort may be had to reason and not to passion, to the law and not to violence, to the courts and not to a "strike." It is a reproach to our civilization that such differences should result, as they often have, in personal violence, loss of life, destruction of property, loss of wages to the men and loss of earnings to the employer, and, when they occur on great lines of railroad, great damage and inconvenience to the public.

An order will be entered in the district of Nebraska continuing the present schedules (subject to the modification as to delayed or overtime) in full force and effect and setting aside the order made by this court on the 27th day of January, 1894.

Also an order directing the receivers to cause 500 copies of a complete record of this cause, including the pleadings, evidence, opinion and orders entered in the several districts, printed and distributed as provided in the order.

Also an order requiring the receivers to pay the expenses of employes attending the conference ordered by the circuit judges and while attending this hearing.

An order will be entered in the districts of Colorado and Wyoming modifying the orders entered in those districts on the 26th and 27th days of February, 1894, to conform to the order now entered in the district of Nebraska, relating to the rules, regulations and schedules of pay.

THE COURT'S ORDER.

The following is the official order of the court:

It is ordered, with the following amendment as to delayed or overtime, viz.: In lieu of Article IV. (Engineer's old rules.)

Delayed Time—No overtime shall be allowed unless the time on duty has averaged less than ten miles per hour, time to be computed from the time first named to leave.

In lieu of Article VII. (Engineer's old rules.) Extra short runs not provided for in the schedule of runs. All short runs of less than 100 miles, and no other mileage made on the same day, 100 miles will be allowed, overtime after ten hours.

Add to section 1 of Article IX., as follows: It is expressly understood that grievance committees authorized to represent engineers shall have access to the proper officials for the consideration of cases of violation of rules or regulations governing conditions of employment.

Firemen—In view of the present stringency in all matters pertaining to labor and corporations, we, the firemen, are willing to share with this court the burden of expense to the extent of conceding overtime accrued in less than ten hours on all trains; that the schedule of pay and the rules and regulations for the guidance and government of employes engaged in the operation of the various railway, railroad and telegraph lines and other properties of the Union Pacific system now operated by S. H. H. Clark, Oliver W. Mink, E. Ellery Anderson, John W. Doane and Frederick R. Coudert, receivers herein, which were in force upon said Union Pacific system at the date when the property of said Union Pacific system passed into the custody and control of said receivers, under and by virtue of the orders of this court, shall be continued in full force and effect by the said receivers, their managers, superintendents and officers, until changed by agreement between the receivers and the officers or representatives of the labor organizations representing the employes engaged in the service of operating said Union Pacific properties under said receivers, or by order of this court. This order shall apply to all the roads, including the St. Joseph & Grand Island railroad, and to every department of service under the receivers in relation to the operation and business of said Union Pacific properties.

It is further ordered that the receivers shall have 500 copies of a complete record of the proceedings had in the courts of the several districts of this circuit in relation to the change of rules, regulations and wage schedules proposed by the receivers herein, printed and securely bound, each volume to contain the complete record, properly indexed, of all proceedings had in the several courts relating to this subject, beginning with the petition of the receivers, and including the petition, the answers of the employes, the testimony taken at the hearing before the court in the Circuit court for the District of Nebraska, and all opinions of the courts filed, and all orders made by the circuit courts in the several districts. The cost and expense of preparing manuscript, printing and distributing said record as by this order directed, shall be paid by said receivers out of the trust funds in their hands.

It is further ordered that the copies of said record, when printed and bound in volumes, shall be distributed by the receivers as follows: Twenty-five volumes each to the circuit judges of this circuit, ten volumes each to the district judges of this circuit, 100 volumes to the receivers, forty volumes to the representatives of the employes, 100 volumes to remain in custody of the clerk of this court for distribution as the court may from time to time direct.

It is further ordered that the delegates or representatives of the employes engaged in the service of operation the railroad and telegraph lines of the Union Pacific system under the receivers, who were in attendance upon the conference ordered by the circuit judges and in attendance at this hearing, shall be allowed their reasonable expenses during the time they were attending the conference and hearing, upon the bases heretofore allowed by the company to men attending a conference between the officers of the company and the men, and the receivers are directed to pay these expenses out of the trust funds in their hands.

It is further ordered that the order and injunction relating to wage schedules, heretofore entered in this court for the district of Nebraska, on the 27th day of January, 1894, be and the same is hereby set aside.

HENRY C. CALDWELL,
United States Circuit Judge, Eighth Judicial Circuit.

JOHN A. RINER,
United States District Judge for the District of Wyoming, sitting in the United States circuit court for the district of Nebraska by request of the circuit judge.

Employment? No lack of it—not a bit. What, with three millions idle? Yes, that is just the trouble. They are idle when they should be employed in thought. There is plenty of thinking to be done, but they refuse to think. Want other work? No need just now of any other work. There's plenty of food, clothing and shelter, but these thoughtless men and women have gone on year after year following the politicians, dancing like a grass-hopper, and now they find their "great" people, for whom they threw up their hats, have all the things they created and they have nothing. Nothing but starvation will make them think, and they are going to get plenty of that. O, yes, they'll think, and find it the best paying employment that ever came to them. It is an angel in disguise—these hard times are. Employment will not help people who are so child-like and credulous that, no matter how much they produce, they permit a few to tell them the bulk of it belongs to the few who do nothing. Let starvation do its work. Fools, it is said, will learn at no other school than that taught by experience.—Coming Nation.

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

SHOSHONE, Idaho, March 25, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The following letter was sent by order of this assembly to the Hon. H. A. Coffeen, of Wyoming, expressive of the feelings of the members regarding the bill throwing the Yellowstone Park into the hands of a corporation:

'Hon. H. A. Coffeen, Member Congress:

"At a regular meeting of this assembly, held March 17, 1894, the bill recently introduced by yourself entitled 'a bill to encourage and establish better facilities for travel to, from, into, and through, the Yellowstone National Park, and for other purposes,' came up for consideration, after which it was resolved that we give expression by writing you to our surprise and regret that a bill of that character should originate with, or be advocated by, you, at one time a Knight of Labor.

"That a bill granting a monopoly of charging for the rights to look at the natural wonders of the people's park, as well as granting a large slice of that park to a corporation, should be urged by one who had been such an ardent supporter of the Knights of Labor, grieves us much.

"Must we be compelled to believe that it has become a fixed rule that as soon as a man is elected to congress, he leaves all his beliefs and principles of a lifetime behind him, and reversing himself, devote his energies and abilities (hitherto exerted in behalf of the common people) with redoubled energy, at the behest of plutocracy, to opposing the interests and wishes of those who elected him? We are opposed to your bill becoming a law, protest against its passage, and will note the men who give it their support. If better facilities are needed to enable the visitor to view the wonders of the park, the government, and it alone, should supply them.

"By order of

"SHOSHONE ASSEMBLY No. 3810."

SHOSHONE, Idaho, March 23, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Storms of wind, rain and snow have *the prevailing weather the* past month, and it speaks volumes for the progress of the nineteenth century that we may turn to the newspapers and ascertain in our modern way what the weather is to be during the week that is to come, just as we would go to the railroad bulletin board, to find out the latest wish and desire of those who are placed over us. And while in addition to this, we ride in our modern railroad cars, heated by steam and lighted by gas or electricity, we, the supposed intelligent workingmen of 1894, still continue to use the old time "ox-cart" system of labor organization, a plan of organization, like the ox-cart, a thousand years old, antiquated beyond belief, born of selfishness and nurtured in strife. Workingmen of the Union Pacific, why will you not see that the present plan of organization is defeating the very purpose it was intended to promote, i. e., your own advancement in material and intellectual matters. Do you not see that so many different organizations serve to generate animosity and hatred of one another, that when trouble comes you are compelled to swallow all your enmity toward the other fellow, and ask him to join you, in order that you may be able to do the least amount of good for yourself? Now if this co-operation, mutual help, is absolutely necessary when trouble threatens, why is it not best at all times? We have been divided on political lines, are yet, to a certain extent; are divided on industrial lines, and now the effort is being made to divide us on religious lines.

Let us examine this proposition from a financial standpoint for a moment. There are at least eight different organizations among the employes on the Union Pacific, and if the cost of maintaining each one of these is placed at $10,000 per year, which is not unreasonable, then the cost amounts to $80,000 per year. Now, this might be reduced one-half by simply taking one of the brightest of the men from each of the several organizations, placing them on a salary of $2,500 per year, which would be $20,000. Now let them select a competent lawyer at say $5,000 per annum, and place the whole matter of looking after the interests of the 12,000 or 15,000 employes in the hands of these men allowing $15,000 for other requirements, and we have a total cost of $40,000, an amount equal to from two and a half to three dollars for each man per year.

The cost might be still further reduced by reducing the number of the committee to five or three. Have all important questions submitted to a referendum vote of the whole membership, giving

the committee full power to act in an emergency, let all classes of employes meet in a common assembly room. Call in the unwieldy committee now at Omaha, drop our enmity and try this plan, remembering it is always the desire of the corporation that the men be divided into as many differing bodies as possible. Call to mind how Chauncy Depew patted the engineers of his road upon the back, urging them to form no entangling alliances, but rather, continue to flock by themselves, as it were, while he, as one individual, remained in a position to throw the immense, compact, power of his corporation against any one of the many sections of labor's army. Act on this before it is too late. By so doing, avoid disastrous strikes.

A new engine was turned out of the shop this month. Another to follow next month. SAGE BRUSH.

ARMSTRONG, Kan., March 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The weather for the past month has been unusually fine and balmy for this latitude, although there were ominous signs of portended storms, but failed to materialize. On St. Patrick's day, the 17th inst., the mercury stood at eighty degrees above the hated cypher, with no outward demonstration on that day by the Irish citizens.

The force of men here in the different departments of the shops is still working forty-eight hours per week, and the boys get their checks regularly on the 16th of each month. The Ft. Scott and Gulf Railroad Company is working their men forty hours a week, Santa Fe system the same, the Missouri Pacific at Cypress shops fifty hours a week, but close their shops down the last Saturday in the month and again on the last day of the month. No roads are hiring any men. All the companies' shops are full of work, but they manage to get along short-handed.

Nothing new to chronicle from here but abundance of work in all departments, and every man is supposed to do his part of it. The nomatic attribution of the men a few years ago is knocked out of them. They are now docile and domesticated. It would be something strange to see a man quit his place in the shops.

All are cursing Grover Cleveland and his sleepy congress for the hard lines they have to tread. A large number of boys were taken into the machine shop lately as apprentices.

The machiniats Boilermakers and blacksmiths who went out on a strike some time ago against a reduction of wages in Armour packing house at Kansas City Mo., were successful, and won the strike by means of the boycott, which was heralded throughout Europe and America, through the columns of the *Midland Mechanic* a newspaper published in the interests of organized labor in Kansas City Mo., by the Industrial Council. Unorganized workmen, skilled or unskilled, whose wages were reduced at the same time of the strike, were not restored, while the strikers got their places back, and those men of scabby crowns who took tneir places were discharged immediately after the surrender. Armour's meats came back to him by the car load spoiled, hence his surrender.

It is the all absorbing topic among organized here regarding what will be the outcome of comference of their respective representatives, with the S. S. H. Clark representing the intresting of the Uuion Pacific Railroad company in regard to the wage question. Up to this date nothing very satisfactory to the men directly or indirectly interested has takes place, as appears from information received officially and through reports of the newspapers at hand. When I speak of those indirecty interested, I mean the drones—men who never spends a cent in favor of organized labor. Read the history of the honey-bee and their drones, and you will fiine a morel therein. A few years ago Mr. S. S. H. Clark thought he had solved the labor question on the Union Pacific system by recognizing trades unions, until the strike of these crafts for reason better known to him than to me. We caught a tartar in place of a lamb. I will say this, that the company is taking the advantage of its present power of being in the hands of the court in hireing men of a certain nationality who would stoop to latch the shoes of their foremen or those in outhority. I believe that there should be two sides to every question between employer and employe. Every working man should stand by one another, irrespective of where he was born or raised. The injury to one ought to be the concern of all.

ALL BOUT DE SON.

LARAMIE, Wyo., March 28, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

My leetter this month is somewhat late, but I trust that you have been so busy in thecase of the Employes vs. the Receivers that you may be behind some, so I will trust to my chances of probably being on time.

March has been a eventful month for

Laramie. The severe snow storm which raged here last week, accompanied by a strong wind, sent a poor sheep-herder named Baker to his last rest, while two otheos suffered severely before they reached a place of safety after abandoning their herds, a portion of which were lost.

On Sunday night the 26th, Thomas Holden, who has been in the service of the Union Pacific as a boilermaker the last four years, was killed by a switch engine. Thus another unfortunate was added to the list.

One day has passed since the employes trial at Omaha, the 27th, and all are anxiously awaiting the result Many are the predictious as to the final outcome, but those who have been keeping themselves thoroughly informed have implicit confidence in Judge Caldwell's decision when he becomes better acquainted with the case.

Our district master workman left for Omaha again after being back from there one week, last Sunday afternoon on No. 8.

Laramie's municipal election will soon agitate the minds of politicians, and since the Populist, will not put a ticket up this spring the old parties can fight it out on the old plan. It matters not to us which of the old parties are in power. Conditions that we have inherited through old party legislation in the past, can not be changed until the people understand why these conditiohs exist to-day. Promises are made from year to year by men to get themselves into office, that never can be fulfilled. A few years more of charity, and starvation for the millions of our unemployed may awaken an interest that will revolutionize things politically. But there is a possibility that men who are half-starved will be in a poor condition to think of the cause why they must starve in a land of abundance. Such men in the history of the past have been known to act spontoneously, and their action have proved dangerous to the peaceful conditions of society. We are but a notion of slaves to-day, and there must come to our assistance an almost superhuman power to free us from present forms of slavery. Those rights that men are not able to see and claim for themselves must, I believe be once more forced upon them. Negro slavery would be a part of our eocial fabric to-day if they had been left to work out their own freedom. The same is true of the existing mental and physical slavery that our society is cursed with to-day.

There is so little of interest to your readers, aside of the unfortunate events stated in this letter, that I have allowed myself to stray from the subject. With this as an apoligy for the lateness, and shortness of my correspondence I rest contented to await the decision to the court, in the greatest law suit on record.

LXXXII.

OMAHA, Neb., March 25, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

As a delegate to the Omaha wage conference, commencing March 15, and while on the way there, it was very interesting to listen to various verdicts as to the result final end of our day in court in case no agreement would be reached before that date. Before I left home I was almost thoroughly convinced that every man who was sent to the conference would be absolutely in accord with the line of procedure that was commenced in Denver by the chairman of the various organizations. On March 1 I was informed these same chairman met again, and all were of one opinion as to the continuation of this method. On the way, and while at Omaha. it was evident to me that some of the chairman either did not have sufficient time, or they neglected to inform their constituents as to the result of their meeting. Some condemned their chairman, while others were content to vent there wrath on the Union Pacific officials.

I was not alone surprised, but I was actually astonished, to hear some express themselves in such a way that would condemn the action of their executive officers.

All were willing to go into court, but not all were willing to abide by the caurt's decision as final. You can readily see what the executive chairman had to contend with. If Judges Caldwell and Riner could have learned this, it would have been evident to them that these men did not understand the meaning of justice, or the object of a court equity. These men intimated that it would depend upon circumstances whether they would be satisfied with the court's decision. Fortunately for the Union Pacific employes, they were not in a position that would place them on the stand as witnesses.

It was also amusing to listen to the usual conversation of some of these men, who by the way, will come at you with the usual "I told you so" if things do not shape themselves just as we would wish. To hear them, one would imagine that all the various subjects beneficial to their craft had been exhausted, and nothing more was left to talk about but railroading. This would not have been

so objectionable if they had not in their conversation interwoven so much of the useless vocabulary in our language, and some that would look like this †*——** ——††——† in type.

I felt at times as though I wished they had learned to speak some of the dead languages, so their conversation could be carried on in the presence of others without jarring their nerves too much, because too much of the sameness becomes monotonous, without this ***†——*††—— style.

As one thoroughly prepared to accept the rulings of Judges Caldwell and Riner, I remain, Yours truly,

A DELEGATE.

ECONOMY OF HIGH WAGES.

Improved machinery stands to high wages in a two-fold relation; it is at once cause and effect. The better the machine with which a man works, the more productive is his labor, and the more valuable consequently to his employer. On the other hand, the higher the wages paid, the greater is the inducement to the employer to use more and more productive machinery, and so reduce his expenses. Not only is the labor employed in connection with improved machinery more highly paid, as we have seen, than any other, but the increased cost of it is a powerful stimulus to further improvement.

Thus a strike among the boot and shoe makers of Massachusetts a few years back resulted in the invention of a machine which reduced the numbers employed in the operation of "lasting" by eighty per cent. And in this connection we notice a curious paradox, viz., that machinery should not be made to last too long. In times of depression it is the firms which use old fashioned machinery which are the first to suffer—as, for instance, visiting Oldham in 1886, Mr. Schoenhof found that the cotton spinners were making no profits at all, whereas at Rochdale a newly built mill, fitted with all the latest and best inventions, was doing well; the reason being that not only was the expense of working less, but waste had been greatly diminishod. Such improvements are often resisted, or at least viewed with little favor, by the workmen themselves, who see in these improvements a means of superseding their own labor. But they have not grasped the key to the situation, and have not understood how closely their own earnings are bound up with their equipment.

On the continent such conservatism is far stronger. It is a matter of pride to the manufacturer that his machinery outlasts that in use here; but so far from being an advantage to him, the fact really handicaps him in competition with his English rivals. And such conservatism is possible only when a large supply of workmen is available at low wages, for if new machinery is to be employed a higher stamp of workman is needed. In the industry of silk-throwing for instance, there is a remarkable difference between England and America in this respect, for the wages paid in America are far higher than with us, yet the cost is far less. Now the growth of nerve power necessary for work at such tremendous pressure is possible only when the conditions of life are favorable —in short, when wages are high.

Let us now summarize Mr. Schoenhof's somewhat optimistic views. High wages cheapen production in two ways. They make the laborer more efficient—he is stronger, more capable, more alert, and consequently the product of his labor is greater, increasing proportionately faster than the rise in wages. They also provoke, and indeed necessitate, a constant growth in the productive power of machinery, and give the maximum of stimulus to the inventiveness of its makers. Short hours of labor produce similar results, for employer and employed are under every inducement to greater application on the one side and economies on the other, lest the volume of production should be lessened. And in proportion as wages rise, so does the demand for the products of industry rise also; for the working class—i. e., the great majority of consumers—are able to purchase more. What, then, is needed in the present and the future? More light and air for production; the abolition of all restraints, protective or otherwise, upon exchange of commodities; the increase of competition everywhere. At the same time, no agency should be neglected which will help to increase the laborer's efficiency. His home, his food, his surroundings should be jealously guarded; art schools, museums, libraries, all that goes to improve his mind, should be provided without stint.—*Edinburgh Review.*

this power that nature gives them, then the conditions surrounding them in society will depend upon the few who do exercise it, and as history shows us, to their personal advantage, and the disadvantage of the many. Such practically usurps that which should spring freely from every man, the ruling of what shall be our conduct to each other.

Man usurped a place when he declared himself the master of another man. By right he was only his equal. The power of the one, generally gained by a better exercise of the intellectual powers, as by the use of cunning, or being able to fortify his physical powers by better weapons, made it possible to enslave the other. The slave and his posterity were ever afterwards at a disadvantage; the master strove to prevent him gaining powers, for the slave then would become his equal.

From absolute slavery we have as yet risen but to a modified form; we are but forcing open avenues through which to rise higher. It is in this direction that the real value of the results of the contest of the Union Pacific employes in the courts lays. It has solved nothing, but has let in light where darkness was preventing a solution. It has put new weapons into the hands of industry, or rather, old weapons into new hands. It is in the direction of assuming rights that belong to all. It is the utilizing of a branch of government by industry for the establishment of the rights of the industrious that commercialism has been usurping to cause the degradation of industry, and for its sole use.

Industry has forced the recognition of its claims by the judicial branch of the government, which claims have had recognition from anyone in the past only when its forces were in battle array, a condition that is most desirable to change. Peaceful methods are preferable; the results are more permanent.

With the opportunity to enjoy rights, goes the duty to be prepared to defend and maintain them, and right demands right methods. It is not only our duty to uphold and demand right, but it is our duty to seek out and maintain the right method of so doing. Is the method labor has been pursuing the right one? Is it one that brings into action the real powers of man—the reasoning force? If it does not, then it is not the right one.

Governments are created among men to assure that which is right among men, to prevent the one infringing on the rights of others. Consequently, it is a function of the government to take cognizance of all differences that arise between those under it.

Differences have arisen between those engaged in industry to such an extent that it has effected the nation—has par-

UNION PACIFIC
EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

VOL. IX. MAY, 1894. No. 4

OUR IMMEDIATE DUTY.

Some of the practical effects of the late contest in the United States courts have come to the employes of the Union Pacific system in the shape of a material gain, which is most convincing evidenc, to most minds at least, of the utility of the method pursued. But to attempt to estimate the result in dollars and cents would be an attempt to estimate the rights of men from a commercial basis, to look at it from the lower rather than that higher plane progressive man is seeking.

The industrial forces of the social organism have struggled through all time past against wrongs because the rights of man have been subjugated to the demands of commerce. Instead of our commercial affairs being so conducted as to aid the greatest number in the pursuit of life and happiness, it has been made to accumulate wealth, to uphold princes, till the vast majority cane stimate life only from the dollars and cents basis, and life made a mere struggle to exist. It is not to be wondered at that any material gains that relieve that struggle should be hailed with joy. So little chance have the masses to consider anything further than the daily struggle; to consider what the rights of man on earth really are.

But if organizations of labor, and the social agitation surrounding them, have a real mission, it lays in that direction that will enable the industrial man to throw off the load commercialism has placed upon him, and to stand as the equal with any of the children of the earth. It is to make dollars and cents a less factor in measuring the life of man. It is to overcome the wrongs by establishing for all the rights of man.

The minds of men are the sole source of their power. Man, with reasoning powers developed, can accomplish all things. It is the combined use of this that moves society, that makes government good or bad. But if the vast majority are so surrounded that they cannot develop and exercise

nothing but condemnation. If he accepts free that which the labor of others creates, he is either a pauper or a thief.

It should be the object of all who are forced to struggle under our present industrial relations to place their claims to the front as the first and most important for society, as a whole, to consider. To do this there must be a unity of purpose—there must be organization. The expense to each of doing this, even by the crude and cumbersome methods used in the past, has been insignificant as compared to the gains. But when methods can be adopted based on the force of reason, this becomes comparatively nothing when all that are benefitted thereby share the burden.

Are we equal to the duty that devolves on each? Cannot labor assume its true place in society as the creator of all that supports life, by displaying that dignity that the justice of its claims gives, and make government do that which it is intended to establish—right?

We believe it can, and that in raising the question of its rights from one for charity to one for justice to consider, it cannot fail to unite all, by commanding the respect of all.

The advantage gained will be enjoyed but a brief time if disregard of means of maintenance prevails. This has been the fault in times past. There has been millions for defense, but nothing for preventatives. There has been willingness to act when something was lost, and lack of vigilance was the reason of the loss.

What is most needed now, most especially by Union Pacific employes, is thorough uniting of forces, and a constant watch and study of the situation. It is no time to rest from vigilance. Every man should post himself on the rights and duties of men, not particularly as the servant of a corporation, but as a resident of the world. The principles that govern his relations to all the rest of the world must apply and be maintained in his relations to a corporation. His rights as a producer are his rights as a member of the human family, and they can be maintained where any right can be adjudicated. As the general defense is through government—an organization—so must be the special defenses through united action. The ruling of Judge Caldwell is that it is the only practical and proper way. He practically orders the receivers to deal with the employes through recognized organizations, in accordance with such ruling.

It is an advantageous position, but to gain the proper results, organization must be as near perfect as possible. Let there be at once seen a prompt move toward such perfection, or let there be heard no complaint from any losses that may be sustained in the future if such steps are not taken, or are weak or insecure. The principle to be supported can be sup-

ported against a corporation by the same methods as against a receiver. An abstract right does not change by location. While the present receivership exists, danger of changes may not be great, as that question has been passed upon. But a change in the directing power may—yes, will—bring dangers, and they will afflict in proportion as there are no defenses ready.

Union Pacific employes have taken the lead of all bodies in the United States in matters pertaining to their interests. To maintain that position, a duty devolves upon them to be constantly prepared for defense by increasing their intellectual powers and uniting them for a common good.

THE MURMUR GROWS LOUDER.

Was ever a people in a more disturbed and dissatisfied condition than the people of the United States are at the present time? Tens of thousands of the people idle and totally unable to find employment; the savings of years used up while hoping for a return of prosperity, and the prospects as dim in the future as at any time in the past. And this, too, at the opening of spring, when all nature bursts forth its buds and mother earth appears in her most generous spirit.

Vast bodies of men, urged on by the restlessness that pervades all, gather together and move eastward to a common center, as if that point was the seat of their troubles. Surely this general move is not the result of the advice of any individuals. There must be some influence at work that springs from the heart and mind of the people that is common to them all. There must be some reason why attention is directed to a common point. There must be a belief that that which is troubling the masses is artificial and the result of bad government; that something besides mere paper petitions are necessary at the seat of government.

If such is the right conclusion, then let those who are adjudged guilty beware. A moving people is the power of Almighty. When an individual violates a natural law, he must suffer. There is no stay of its execution. When the social organism—a people as a whole—violate a natural law which governs that organism, then they, too, as a whole, must pay the penalty. This is just what the people of the United States have been doing, and the blame must be shouldered by all. Our government is one of the people. A duty falls on each individual according to his ability. If the majority fail in performing their duty, the blame must rest there, and the whole must bear the punishment that invariably follows.

Such is what we, as a people, are suffering under now. We have been standing on a false basis. We have allowed

the few special privileges, and they by the use of them have been able to absorb the surplus wealth created by the toil of the masses. Besides, by the jugglery of finance, aided by law, they have placed these same producers in debt to them to an extent that is beyond the imagination of man to conceive of a possibility of their ever being able to pay it; but there must be a settlement of the account sometime and in some way.

The centralization of men at Washington is certainly not going to change the conditions. The disease has become too deep-seated. It is not located at Washington more than at the seat of government of every state, county, city and town. It can do no more than to awaken men into action, to create earnestness where there has been apathy. The real work must be shown by the people acting in their sovereign, political capacity. It must spring from reason finally, even if there is first a season when brute passion expends itself in all its resultant hideousness.

It is a time now for serious thinking. We have unheeded the warnings that have been given in the past. We can do so no longer. The fact stares us in the face that a large part of our people are in suffering and want; that, too, they are surrounded with all that is necessary for their relief, and with all the natural material necessary for the further production of unlimited supplies. They possess all the genius, skill and strength necessary for production. All they need is the opportunity to proceed. All that stands in the way is the leave of a comparatively few individuals. By what natural right has any child of earth to give leave to another child of earth to partake of the bounties of mother earth, or to possess more of earth than they need for their sustenance?

Can we imagine that a government is based on the principle that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men," and yet have any considerable proportion barred from access to the support of all life—the earth—without paying tribute to others declared to be only their equal, or when such will be positively denied, on any terms, the opportunity to produce from earth the necessities of life?

Is it true that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness?" Has our government *been destructive* of these ends? If so, should it not be re-

formed, so that the inalienable right to life, liberty and happiness will be assured to every person under it? Is it not the only way that the tramp and the "industrial armies," and the strikes and lockouts, and unwilling idle hands can be done away with?

Will the American people act in this matter at once, exercising their constitutional powers, and set right that which is proving wrong, or will they wait till dire revolution generates from the misery that now exists. It is not the shiftless, lazy and ignorant that are suffering. The homes of the most thrifty and the most intelligent are realizing what want is. Intelligent, reasoning man is the ideal being under right conditions, but the same becomes the most terrible when the need of self-defense arouses him to act. No wild animal is more destructive; no natural element leaves greater carnage in its wake.

The present is the one that tries men's souls. We see the wrong, but hesitate to apply the remedy, and if the peace of our nation is further disturbed, it will be because too many hesitate to follow the dictates of their conscience and act while there is yet a chance.

The greatest, and in fact only, safeguard the nation has to-day from open riot and rebellion is the discipline that the labor organizations exercise. But the explosion will be that much greater if relief does not come in time, and they are forced to relax their grasp on the reasoning powers of man.

The "march to Washington" has a wonderful similarity, both as to cause and purpose, to the march to Paris of the people of France in 1789. May we hope that the intelligence of the last decade of the nineteenth century will be equal to the occasion, and steer the ship of state over the stormy seas to peace and prosperity.

A MISTAKE.

In view of the precedent established by the employes of the Union Pacific in holding that the rights they claim are subject to the support of the powers of society, of government, and called upon the judicial branch of the government to support those claims, and there obtained success, it is to be regretted that the employes of the Great Northern have resorted to the old and, to railway employes at least, rarely successful method of the strike; especially, if they had failed after adopting the plan followed by the Union Pacific men, they could still have tried the strike as the remedy.

If there is to be a just future for labor, it will come when it aspires to, and occupies and uses, the highest places and

methods of civilization. It therefore appears right that when the opportunity offers, every step possible should be taken in that direction. There was such an opportunity for the Great Northern men to have carried the legal principles on which the Union Pacific men were sustained still further, to have tested the spirit of the judiciary, when the question was between the men and the corporation direct, and not—as in the Union Pacific case—when the corporation was in the hands of the court. The principles laid down by Judges Caldwell and Riner would most certainly apply, and it was a most opportune time to have tested it. The expense to the men of the Great Northern would not have been greater than the loss of one hour's time while on strike, and then if they had failed, the public would have given them its unanimous moral support, for having attempted the use of reason, in further steps they may have taken, and that is a powerful ally.

They had, too, the apparent advantage of access to the very court that the Union Pacific men had sounded the spirit of. The men themselves on that system are not so much to be blamed, more than men can be blamed for being ignorant of their rights and not keeping posted in this age of newspapers and literature, but their advisers are, as they were fully posted, accidentally, perhaps, but they knew that contrary to their prophecy to the Union Pacific men at Omaha that labor could maintain its rights by other than the methods of the strike, and while all were at their regular vocations, without raising the danger of distress in the home of a single employe. This, if they are fit men for leaders, ought to have been considered by them, and because, under the circumstances, they did not do so, deserve censure, no matter what the result of the effort at strike may be. There is more gain in raising labor above the necessity of a strike than to gain the object of the strike, and they had the opportunity to do both.

The sympathy of all men in the ranks, and who have interested themselves in the study of social problems, goes out to the men who are suffering injustice, but sympathy does not relieve this situation. Results are wanted, and, too, those of a most permanent nature. That which labor gains for the time being by force they must expect to maintain by force. Such, however, is a condition for society which bodes no good. It is contrary to the principle on which humanity associates as nations, and while it prevails the peace and prosperity of a nation is in danger, if not itself finally disrupted.

It seems right that labor, united, should take the lead in changing such a condition, letting no opportunity pass unused through which it can take its true place in the affairs of mankind. Never, by word or act, admitting or implying that

it is not the master of the earth, producing all that goes to maintain life. The true nobility of the world, exercising the power of the intellect, which is all that designates man as above the brute, in opening those avenues that must lead to the ideal condition—"peace on earth, good will toward men." It means the making of reason its sole arbitrator, the use of the methods by which reason must act.

We know not at this writing what the results may be to the men on the Great Northern. A successful general railroad strike has not been seen since the strike on the Union Pacific system in 1884. It would seem as if experience demanded a different method, and as if the Union Pacific men had come again to the front with a practical demonstration of one. Success, therefore, now of a strike would seem to encourage a new hope from such methods, costly as it is to both sides, as well as unsatisfactory. If so, has there been any real gain in the solution of the labor problem? Will it not delay the establishment of more rational methods? Defeat would be a loss to a large body of men and their families, temporarily at least, but would not there be value to the general social body in the awakening there would be to a deeper study of the causes that are effecting all, and thus lead quicker to a true solution?

If the leaders of this strike have chosen this method as the best to bring them into notoriety, they certainly have chosen wisely, but such is very short lived and hardly is worth experiencing. To have led labor on to a higher footing may not have called as much attention to them at the time, but it would never have grown less, and their efforts would have won everlasting monuments to their memory. We believe there has been a sad mistake in the handling of the Great Northern difficulty, both to the men directly interested and to the welfare of labor at large.

JUDGE DUNDY did not raise himself any in the estimation of the public in rendering the screed on the circuit judge, as he did in the wage cases. It was in keeping with the opinion most people had formed of him. Nor did he regain any lost ground in the estimation of anyone in ordering the restoration of wages. That was a natural conclusion of the decision of the circuit court, and in keeping with the statement of Mr. Dickinson when before the circuit court, and what the organizations that resisted the Dundy order expected would result, if they were sustained in the position they had taken in the circuit court. If they had failed, then there would have been no opportunity for Dundy to have acted, nor would there have been anyone to make a move before him. After the

bear is killed there are plenty who want to do the skinning. It sounds well for him to say he would do for unorganized men as organized, but if organized men had not opened the way, no one believes he would have done so. As a result of the move commenced before Judge Hallett at Denver, not only has a reduction been prevented for the present at least, but a reduction that had been made has been restored, all without any disturbance or distress, and it is all due to organized effort. Every man who has had a restoration of wages owes it to organized labor, but how many of such appreciate the fact, or will do anything to aid the maintenance of organization? Yet if such restoration is retained for any considerable length of time, it will be because of organization. Men who receive benefits under such conditions, and do nothing to its support, stand in the same general light as able-bodied paupers. They will probably never miss anything until their benefactors are gone; and it will be from such that the worst howl will go up because of that loss. The amount of manhood resting among those non-members of organizations who were surprised by a restoration of their pay, or a prevention of a reduction, will now develop and be shown in the degree that they now lend their aid in the support of such, and the portion of their gain they are willing to give up to go toward paying the expense made in their behalf.

"WHY does not labor stand united," is a question asked by those who feel that they should not be classed with labor, yet think they cannot be classed with those who have been in opposition to labor. Books could be written in answering such a question. But why is there an element in society who stand neutral in the social struggles, and feel it their duty to look on and advise? Why is not every man arrayed on the side he thinks is right? There can be no middle ground in the conflict between right and wrong. That element who, when called upon to express themselves, say they always sympathized with labor, ought to be counted with the enemies. Nine out of ten are hypocrits. What does their sympathy amount to? It matters not what occupation or position a man is in if it is one that fills a need in society—and there is none other that is honorable—he has no occasion to lend sympathy to the social struggle. He is in position to take a hand directly. If he does not, then the sympathy he expresses indicates his inclinations are to be on the other side. One reason why labor is not better united is that there is yet a large element in the ranks who want to imitate this hypocritical intermediate class, and who would, if given a chance to tyranize over labor, be the worst the world sees. Let the lines be more distinctly drawn, and there will be greater unity.

THE INDUSTRIAL ARMIES OF THE PAST AND PRESENT.

More than 2,000 years ago the same difference existed between the patricians and the plebeians that exists to-day. War is still considered a noble occupation among civilized nations, while labor is treated as an ignoble one. When soldiers can no longer be recruited from among the "Spartans," the laborers of to-day, as in ancient times, will again allow themselves to be called in disgrace to assist the "noble" aristocracy out of their troubles. "Two thousand years ago the only sin in wrong doing was being detected in the act. The accumulation of power and wealth gave rise to universal depravity. Law ceased to be of any value. A suitor must deposit a bribe before a trial could be had." All this sounds as though it was written for the nineteenth century.

Long before the Christian era labor secretly organized in the then-numerous craft unions, and long before this era a federation of trades existed that accomplished more than any that has existed since that time. So long as these trade unions of the ancient world restricted themselves to pleasure, religion and frugality they were not harshly dealt with. For nearly 4,000 years, from the earliest beginning, so far as any records are obtainable, up to the year 1894, this sentiment has predominated. According to Strabo there were in the last century before the Christian era, scarcely 2,000 people owning taxable property in Rome. In 1893 there were "scarcely" 31,000 who owned more than half the wealth of these United States. In B. C. 103 the slaves paid tribute to 2,000 people of Rome. In A. D. 1893 they paid seventy-five per cent of the taxes to maintain our government, and in numerous other ways paid tribute to our 31,000. The only difference, gathered from history, between the slaves of Strabo's time and the wage slaves of the present is that the former would occasionally organize and, by force, wipe out the social blot with which they were cursed. Some of the most gigantic and bloody uprisings the world has ever known was caused by the enormous growth of slavery just before the beginning of the Christian era.

In 1894 there are, in these United States, at least 3,000,000 of unemployed, many thousands of whom are classed and treated by our civilized (?) society as vagrants, who are hated and despised by our modern plutocracy, because they have the "audacity" to march on to Washington and demand of their servants temporary relief, not through charity, but through employment that they may be able to maintain themselves and those dependent on them. Our governing powers may be thankful that our people are the most patient of any on the face of the earth, but they should profit by the experience of the captain of the Mississippi steamboat who put too much nigger on the safety valve.

If our millions of unemployed of to-day do not forget their present suffering and want when again allowed to engage in business with their partially wasted invisible wealth—their brain and muscle; if they will only exercise their brains more in future, and as becomes sovereigns, they can purify the social atmosphere to that extent that the idle parasites can no longer live in it.

'Tis true that established laws, the result of a conspiracy covering a period of more than a quarter of a century, cannot be changed or abrogated, perhaps, for a number of years, but the privilege of interpreting laws are nearly equal to making them.

In turning over the pages of past history, we find, in spite of all the boasts in behalf of the rulers and governing powers of the ancients as to what was done for mankind, our art, literature, science, education and liberties have all been torn from their covetous grasp in sheer desperation.

Every advance made by the world in the right adjustment of our social relations has been through the triumph of the spirit of humanity over external standard.

We boast of a social order in the United States of America in which the rights of all are assured. We know that thieving lobbyists are allowed to assemble in hordes at state and national capital, but no sooner had the unemployed in the city of Boston assembled at the state house, petitioning their servants (?) for temporary relief, than they were forbidden an entrance and their petition treated like those of the slaves of more than 2,000 years ago. Peaceable citizens, who were formerly numbered among the producers, on their way to Washington, are meeting with jeers jibes and insults from our would-be ar-' istocracy, while the governors of different states threatened them with the law and the military, and in most cases they are treated more like animals than human beings, nay, worse than animals, by those who are in authority. Even President Cleveland threatens them with a proclamation. This is the vilest punishment, coming from one who, with the vast power of patronage, is degenerating politics into the foulest slums of partisanship. Coxey, Kelly, Swift and other leaders of the army of the unemployed, if compared to some of our great statesmen would outshine them as the sun outshines a farthing candle. The press, controlled by the money power of the country, is used to magnify every falsehood against these people and against those who speak words of encouragement, and dare speak words of truth and justice against the oppression that is endangering our society.

Many of these press utterances, and those coming from the favored ones in authority in municipal, state and national government, should teach all the necessity of waging a relentless war against existing social conditions with the greatest possible speed and before we lose the blessed privilege given us by the national constitution.

The leaders of the industrial army are doing for the nineteenth century slaves what the greatest and best reformers of all ages have done, whose only religion was to make the world better and happier.

This is a work worthy of emulation and he, or she, who needs a voice or scratch of pen to instruct them in their duty at this time is not worthy of being classed as a descendant of that specie known as *man*. H. BREITENSTEIN.

Laramie, Wyo.

AMERICANS ABROAD.

The number of Americans landed at the ports of Great Britain and the continent during the year 1892 was, in round numbers, 95,000. This estimate includes first and second class passengers, but not those who came in the third cabin or the steerage. The whole number of persons carried by the various steamship companies from the United States to Europe in that year was 134,000.

In 1892 the number of first and second-class cabin passengers carried to the United States from European and British ports was 120,991, the number of steerage passengers 388,486. There was a slight decrease in cabin passenger traffic, and a large one in steerage business, on account of the rigid quarantine regulations imposed by the United States government to prevent the importation of cholera.

Of the 134,000 persons who sailed in 1892 from ports in the United States to Europe, 103,000 landed in Great Britain, and the remainder at continental ports, Genoa receiving 2,756 first and second class cabin passengers, and Havre 8,087.

Taking the estimates of various banking houses, based upon their letters of credit, the annual expenditure of Americans in Europe amounts, in round numbers, to $104,000,000, or about eleven hundred dollars for each person. This will be conceded to be a sufficiently low average. A journey of one hundred days' duration seldom costs less than a thousand dollars for ordinary living and traveling expenses. There are a great many people who spend less on a trip to Europe, but on the other hand, there are quite as many who, in addition to the necessary expenditure, make large purchases of clothing, jewelry, pictures, objects of art, furniture, and curios, and there are several thousands who leave considerable sums of money on the gaming tables at Monte Carlo. In the month of February, 1893, there were 80,558 visitors at Monte Carlo, and the prefect of police think that about 16,111 of them, or twenty per cent, were Americans.—Francis B. Loomis in May *Lippincott's*.

SOME INTERESTING EXTRACTS

FROM THE TESTIMONY BEFORE THE CIRCUIT COURT AT OMAHA.

J. H. McConnell, superintendent of motive power and machinery, on the stand.

The Court—How did the mileage basis come about on the Union Pacific? On what basis was the pay upon before the mileage basis?

A. It has practically been a mileage basis ever since the history of the road. During the early construction of the road there was difficulty in obtaining men who would stay in this western country, and in order to retain these men the practice grew up of paying excess mileage, and not to increase their rate per day, but pay them more miles than they run in order that they might make more pay?

Q. I notice there is a difference in the pay on engines of different capacities; state where the large engines are used, so as to show, by reason of that fact, the effect of this change where the greater pay was without regard to the application of excess mileage.

A. These engines are used on the Wyoming, Idaho and some parts of the Pacific divisions. These engines are used on account of the heavy grades and increase hauling capacity of the engines.

[Witness described a special case of incompetency and the court said: "That is a case of incompetency; no amount of wages would remedy it."]

McConnell—That was an old, experienced hand.

The Court—That is just grounds of criticism on that particular engineer, but that instance will have no effect at all in the discussion of the wage question. Any kind of an engineer would be dear if he was like that.

McConnell—There is some of that kind here to-day.

The Court—The question here is what is reasonable and just compensation for competent men. It is presumed that the gentlemen who had the management of the road before employed competent men.

McConnell—Well, to get to the point, we will show that we do not have the choice of putting men of that character on our passenger runs.

The Court—The management has heretofore, in conference with these men, sought to remove this discrimination and blot out that extra mileage feature, have they?

A. Yes. It has been the standing aim of the management to do that, but it has been met with resistance on the part of the committees.

Q. Why did they not do that?

A. Because they could not without having trouble?

Q. They have postponed that unpleasant business and proposed to devolve it upon the court?

A. I could not say as to that.

Q. From 1885 you have been familiar with this rule and its effect?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then it has been in force eight years?

A. Yes, sir. I wish to say that the rule was forced upon the company in 1885 by threats of a strike.

The Court—Has this company been under duress for the past eight years—duress of that threat? Is the court to understand that you say that the Union Pacific Railway Company has been in a state of duress for eight years?

Mr. Thurston—These questions the manager can answer better than the witness.

McConnell—I wish to say that it has been discussed a number of times with a view of changing, but the men would not consent to any change being made.

The Court—But there came a time when it was changed, or proposed to be by these new schedules?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The proposed new schedule—was that made a subject of conference?

A. No, sir.

Q. Then it was found much safer for you to make a schedule in the absence of the men affected by it than when they were present? Much easier for a man to make a contract when he represents both parties?

A. It has not been the subject of conference until the month of March.

Q. Until the court ordered it?

A. Yes, sir.

The Court—For eight years this rule has been in full force and effect?

McConnell—Yes, sir; practically.

The Court—And the question of the propriety and justness has been frequently the subject matter of discussion between representatives of the men and the company?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. It has remained unchanged? No determined effort was made to change it until the road passed into the hands of receivers?

A. No new schedule has been made until the one proposed by the receivers. The men have been notified informally that it was coming, but it has never been the subject of conference.

Q. It did not come for a period of eight years, and never come until the company was in the hands of a court of equity?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you think it equitable or right or just toward the court to ask it to do a thing that for eight long years the management of this road would not or dare not do, was just or fair? Do you think it fair to ask a court of equity to take upon itself that burden? I want your opinion as to this as to whether a court of equity ought to be imposed upon and asked to do what the management of this road eight years declined to do, or were afraid to do, or they thought it unjust to do, and that they would wait until the company is thrown into the hands of a chancery court and come to an equity court and ask to do what they have avoided doing for eight years. Now, if there has been any change in the conditions that would make a change in this rule essential, you state that; any change in the physical condition of the road. I do not refer to income; that is a different question. I want to know what change, if any, has taken place; what new light has come to the management of this road to show that this is an inequitable or unjust rule? If there is any fact or circumstance that has been newly developed that shows that this rule within itself, as a rule, is unjust or inequitable, and ought not to continue, state what that new light is.

A. There are several principles in this. The men work shorter hours on the road, there is less work required of them than formerly, and the cost of operation greatly in excess of other roads similarly situated.

Q. That has been the case all the time, has it not, during all these eight years?

A. No, sir; as compared with other roads it has increased forty-four per cent in eleven years the cost of engineers' and firemen's wages.

Q. During eight years of that time this rule has stood the same?

A. Yes, but by the operation of this rule from year to year the cost has increased to this company for engineers' and firemen's wages.

Q. How?

A. By the mileage paid, higher rate to switching work, the over-time rule, short-time rule.

Mr. Dickinson on the stand.

The Court—In your judgment is it a fair proposition to continue in force the reductions, the percentage reductions, applied to the salaries of non-organized employes, unless a general reduction is participated in by the employes with respect to whose wages you are now proposing to act?

A. I certainly do not think it is.

Q. If the court should be of the opinion that the old schedules obtain, then you will restore the salaries of those persons to what they were before the reduction, would you?

A. I should certainly recommend such action, your honors.

Mr. Thurston—As a matter of justice to those employes?

A. Yes, sir; as a matter of justice to those employes.

[The court referring to the question of the employes being notified of changes in rules, etc., the witness stated that after the receivership verbal notice had been given the men that changes would be made, that the receivers would not consider the old rules, etc., binding.]

The court then asked: They would be in effect till others were put out?

A. Yes, I considered that a notice to the men that there would be a change.

Q. But when that change would take place and what it would be there was no indication at the time, was there?

A. No, sir.

Q. That change, then, was made after that by the receivers, without notice to the men affected and without giving them an opportunity to be heard upon the question?

A. Without further notice, yes, sir.

Q. Well, was there any notice at all upon the question of the change in the rules and regulations?

A. In a general way there was, as I said, by Mr. Clark.

Q. Will you tell me how these gentlemen could attend here when you gentlemen were quietly making up this schedule; how they could know when and where to attend upon such notice as that?

A. O, they were not given notice to attend the meeting to help make up the schedule.

Q. Then they had no notice at all, did they, in the sense that would give them an opportunity to appear before these receivers and state their side of the case?

A. Not as you look upon it, no, sir.

Q. Well, not as I look upon it, but as anybody. You are a fair-minded man, an extremely intelligent man; would you suppose you had notice under like circumstances?

A. Not a specific notice; no, sir.

Q. Was the action of the receivers in doing this in conformity with the practice of the railroad company in the last twenty years? Has the management of that road at any time and on any occasion changed the rules and regulations that affected the whole body of employes or any considerable number of them without those employes being invited to a conference to consider the proposed changes?

A. No, sir, your honors; it has always been the other way; the men have always invited the company that they were going to make changes.

Q. All changes that were made were made in conference.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they subdue and overawe you each time, or was it a matter of public conference, and did you act as reasonable, intelligent and impartial men and independent men upon such occasions?

A. Well, I don't know as we were overawed or subdued exactly, but we were given to understand that they would insist upon rules they submitted, and, without saying so directly, it was thrown out that they would carry that point some way or another.

Q. What I want to get at, and it is extremely important in this case, is to know if this Union Pacific railway system, the largest with one or two exceptions in the world, has been in a state of coercion and duress for the last fifteen years?

A. Well, I do not think it has.

Q. Well, it was an independent corporation quite able to take care of itself; hasn't it been?

A. It ought to have been.

Oliver W. Mink on the witness stand.

After having submitted comparative statements as to earnings and expenses of the company. The court asked:

How many years has it been since any dividend was paid on any of the stock of the Union Pacific?

A. I think the last dividend was in April, 1884.

Q. Do you know how much money was paid into the treasury of the Union Pacific company for or on account of the stock that was issued?

A. I do not. The only thing I know

is what the books show to have been paid. I had no familiarity with the transaction.

Q. Are you aware of the fact that one of the company's receivers reported officially to the congress of the United States that most of the stock was never paid for?

A. I had no knowledge of the fact.

Q. Do you know Governor Patterson, one of the commissioners of the congress of the United States, reported that less than two cents on the dollar was paid into the treasury of the Union Pacific company for stock?

A. I do not know, but I think the governor was mistaken when he said so, for in 1881, I remember of ten millions that was subscribed and paid for at par.

Q. This was the thirty-six million, first issue, averaged only four hundred thousand dollars, was paid into the treasury, have you any knowledge of that fact?

A. The books show that stock was paid for in cash.

Q. Do you know what amount of bonds issued by the Union Pacific company was for money that never went into the treasury of that company but into the pockets of others?

A. I do not know of any such issue of bonds.

Q. Do you know that Mr. Anderson, one of your co-receivers, reported that forty-four millions of dollars of the bonded debt of this fixed charge you speak of here, went into the pockets of other persons, and not into the treasury of the company?

A. I do not remember the figures. I know from having looked the books over that in early days the company had great difficulty in disposing of its bonds, and they were sold at a discount.

Q. After allowing all the discounts of the forty-four millions of these bonds, Mr. Anderson reported that it never went into the treasury of the company, and Mr. Patterson said seventy millions went into the pockets of individuals?

A. I do not know all the statements they made.

Q. If Mr. Anderson, your co-receiver, and Governor Patterson are right and this stock upon which some dividends have been paid, only represented two cents on the dollar in the treasury of the company on the stock, it would not be any great hardship for them not to get any more?

A. It would not.

Q. The wages of these men ought not to be cut down to pay dividends on such stock, ought it?

A. No.

Q. Do you think it fair and right to reduce the wages of men in this company's service, repeal that which is customary, in order to pay interest on bonds more than half of which represent no consideration whatever, so far as the road is concerned? Is there any equity in that?

A. Supposing that it is so, I would think it would be very doubtful whether a court of equity should be called upon to do that.

Q. What position did you occupy immediately preceding the time that you were appointed receiver?

A. Second vice president.

Q. Did this cut in the wages of monthly salaries of the men working by the month, apply to all the men who were receiving monthly or yearly salaries?

A. Yes, everybody, including myself.

Q. What was your salary?

A. As second vice president, I received $10,000.

Q. And that cut was made?

A. Yes, I am sorry to say it was. I took my twenty per cent.

Q. You were sorry?

A. I was rather sorry.

Q. You did not applaud the cut?

A. I took part in formulating the circular and thought it was a thing that ought to be done.

Q. What salary are you asking this court to give you as receiver?

A. $18,000.

Q. A year?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you made a cut on that with

a view of meeting this condition of affairs?

A. No, we have nothing to cut on, your honor, I regret to say. Since the 13th day of October I have received nothing for my work. I am quite content to leave myself in the hands of the court.

Q. You ask for $18,000 and a further sum from time to time as you may think just and reasonable. You contemplate making a still further demand for additional salary over and above the $18,000?

A. I have nothing in contemplation except to have the matter brought before the court, for the purpose of having some determination.

Q. Can you indicate to the court what you think would be just and reasonable over and above the $18,000?

A. I have never taken any part in that discussion. I ought to say that when we were appointed receivers, we were called upon to give heavy bonds, the bonds required of us aggregating $565,000, and I think, in view of the character of the trust and the diverse interests and the work which I, speaking for myself, have to do of reorganizing, the compensation would not be unreasonable.

Q. Do you take into account the fact that these stockholders and bondholders would be deprived of any money that you would get for salary?

A. I did not. I believe I might be accorded reasonable compensation and leave to your honors to fix the amount.

Q. You may feel that way, but I want to know how it is—if you felt it your duty to this class of stockholders, whose stock cost less than two cents on the dollar, to reduce the wages of these men that they might have dividends, would you fix it less than you otherwise would in order that they might get dividends?

A. I had none of those things in my mind.

Q. When you come to fix your own amount you did not take that into account?

A. I only wished to have the matter brought before the attention of the judge.

Q. Supposing we, sitting here to-day, should allow you $18,000 a year, and it should run on for two or three years, and in reliance upon that salary and order of the court, and the implied contract you should make your arrangements to continue in the service of the court to the end of the trust, and you should be advised sometime by telegraph that the court, without any intimation or notice to you, had, upon the request of somebody, cut your salary down and issued an injunction to you to continue in the service at the reduced rate, how would you feel, that you were fairly treated?

A. No, I would come before your honors and protest vigorously.

Q. This is an old maxim, "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." Why does not that apply to the men as well as the receivers?

A. I supposed it did apply.

Q. Did not you adopt that schedule without any notice to the men, and declare that that was the schedule?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And have that approved by the court?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And after having rendered judgment against them and fixed up a schedule, then say they could come along and kick afterwards?

Are you a man who, when you are dealing with a man upon a matter in which he is interested, would proceed to act for both sides?

A. As I understand the matter, the schedule had no binding force until approved by the court.

Q. They were approved by the court. If you thought these schedules were reasonable and just, why did you not have this inquiry and investigation before adopting them?

A. Because I thought it was a perfectly proper and reasonable way to proceed, but in view of things that have happened since, I would probably have hesitated. There is no disposition on the part of any of the men administrating the Union Pacific property or system, to do otherwise than what is right, fair

and reasonable toward the employes.

Q. Do I understand you to declare to this court that it is your impression that it is fair, just and honorable for you to determine, yourself, without notice and behind the backs of men, make rules and regulations by which he is to be bound, without giving him an opportunity to be heard or consulted in the matter?

FREE TRADE.

If one word is hated in America it is the word "free." It is a stench in the atmosphere. Free trade, free speech and free press are hated by the ruling powers as the devil hates holy water. While the rulers are decrying free trade in the "interests of the laborers," they are cutting down wages in every industry, even where their profits are millions and millions a year. That shows how they love the work-slaves. But the foreign work-slave is on the free list and is being imported by the million "in the interest of the American workers!" O, yes! I know many working people who are disgusted with the present condition, are, in their mind, opposed to free trade. The rich have got these ideas into their mind and hold it there by false statements. They are honest in their belief and do not see the lie. They never read any treatise on the question from a disinterested standpoint. Now, there is one thing certain, if free trade is ever adopted (and it will be) the rich men's property, instead of the poor devil's food, clothing and medicine, will have to pay the entravagance of national appropriations. That's why the rich oppose it. It means a yearly pull on their purses of $375,000,000, which the poor now pay. The poor would be that much richer, for they would save it and the various profits on it, and the rich would be that much poorer, for they would have to pay it. It is worth that many millions a year to them to blind you about the tariff.

But let me illustrate. Suppose the town we propose to establish in Tennessee has a surplus of products, either grain or manufactured stuff, and we correspond with some of the co-operative stores in England and exchange them for our goods, both being well pleased and benefitted. Don't our importations give work here to make the goods we send them? Would it help anybody except a few thieving consumers who collect the customs and produce nothing, if we had to pay a tariff and the English co-operators had to pay a tariff? You will think at once that if we had traded our goods for goods made in Massachusetts it would have helped sustain America. The great bulk of trade is between the people of a country, but there are goods of certain kinds here produced of a surfeit and that are in great demand elsewhere, and goods made in other countries not readily obtainable here. If we did not exchange with the co-operators they would trade elsewhere. We would have to compete with others in the Massachusetts market, forcing down prices trying to sell goods where they are in the least demand. No business man does that and would be a fool if he did. To trade goods in the worst market! And if we did sell, would not that cut out some American who wanted to sell his product there? And besides, you are so anxious to have a money that is "good in Europe," and what for, you know, if not to trade there?

Unfortunately, the people of different countries do not trade with each other—the capitalists do the exchanging and the consumers pay the tariffs and expenses. If the people traded direct, the barbarism of custom houses would soon vanish. They are the devices of kings to collect money off a people who are too ignorant to know they pay, when the duty is mixed up with the price of the articles. All nations can trade with each other at a mutual advantage, and not injure anyone. All the goods bought in the United States by any other people furnish our people employment, and if no goods were exported there would be more idleness than now exists. Free trade? Yes. For there can be no semblance of free men where they may not trade free, but must pay tribute or blood money to sustain tyrants in a life of criminal debauchery.—*Coming Nation.*

THE MODERN PROMOTER.

Idle money, and those who have more of it than they can carry or know how best to use, have evolutionized the modern promoter. He has risen to his opportunities, and in his methods is equally dignified and expensive. He handles towns as peddlers manipulate socks, develops mines and furnaces with equal facility, and by the aid of ink and eloquence he floats corporations that, like the rest of paper boats, make longer voyages beneath the water than on its surface. He humps the spine of the mail carrier with his circulars, maps of cities as yet invisible are covered with boulevards and public squares and not wanting for streams and groves made for the occasion. Statistics blossom in arithmetical roses, and in rainbow splendor depict the future wealth and greatness of localities where at present and for years to come the gopher makes his hole and the blackbird follows the plowman. Enterprises are invited to migrate where taxes are low and trade, like a mushroom, will spring up in a night.

Of these artistic creations the promoter too often makes his net, into which the golden fish enter on their way to the pan. The fisherman fattens and the victims fry. Men unload their cash; widows with nest eggs in the bank vacate the ark and tempt the flood, and thrifty crowds in honest confidence cast their bread on the waters, to search for it with lanterns after many days.

It may be a reflection on average intelligence that credulity should be so common, and that men and women, otherwise prudent and thrifty, should in this case pay for chickens that as yet are without parents or feathers. It may also be as much an anomaly that where the law puts an iron hand on felons and forgers, it is sometimes a velvet convenience to men who trade on public confidence and issue their invitations in legal forms to such flies as would be acceptable to the spider. We do not include in this class of sinners those men who are integral parts of the necessary machinery of enterprise and industrial development. Without such there would be a missing wheel in the mechanism of prosperity. In many instances they represent vital and important interests, which, without the promoter as a pioneer and missionary, would only be possibilities and never realized facts. It is also possible that even where integrity and sagacity are unquestionable, that mistakes may be made, and enterprises with every reasonable prospect of success may, from causes beyond provision or prevention, prove abortive and ruinous. Examples are numerous. There is hardly a state in the west or the south where the bones of such failures have not been picked by the buzzards of time.

There are mines missing miners, furnaces without fires, mills with idle wheels and towns containing more rats than men, that tell the story of speculative folly, and booms that labored with child, but brought forth a mouse. The fact is, the whole thing has been overdone, and it has more to do with the idle money kept in stockings and piled up in vaults than is generally supposed. If enterprise is in its nightcap, and so-called capital is hesitant and timid, it is not without its reasons. One burnt finger warns the rest. The European digit has been badly scorched, and if it hesitates at a hot chestnut, who can say nay? It has unloaded its millions on booms, where all that is left is repentance and a troubled memory, and it is not to be denied that mismanagement and unlaundered rascality have had all the rope needed to strangle foreign faith, even in honest and reasonable schemes. The promoter has, in too many instances, fried his steak in foreign fat—the probabilities being he will have to wait some time for his next dinner. The evil might be curtailed by legislation, but its real cure lies in the public being as prudent in buying shares as it generally is in the purchase of a horse or a coat.—Fred Woodrow in *Age of Steel.*

The less a man knows, the surer he is that he has all there is worth knowing.

WAGES.

Wages can never rise so high as to make it impossible for the copitalists to carry on his business and live; under such circumstances, it would be more profitable for the capitalist to give up his business. Consequently, the wages of the workingman can never rise high enough to equal the value of his product. They must always be below that so as to leave a surplus; it is only the prospect of a surplus that moves the capitalist to purchase labor-power. It is therefore evident that in the capitalist social system the wages of the workmen can never rise high enough to put an end to the exploitation of labor.

This surplus, which the capitalist class appropriates, is larger than is usually imagined. It covers not only the "profits" of the manufacturer, but many other items that are usually credited to the costs of production and exchange. It covers, for instance, rent, interest on loans, salaries, merchant's profits, taxes, etc. All these have to be covered with the surplus, or the excess of the value of the product over the wages of the workingman. It is evident that this surplus must be a considerable one if a concern is to "pay;" the exploitation of the workingman must be great, even where the wages are high. It is clear that the wages of the workingman cannot rise high enough to be even approximately equal to the value of his product. The capitalist wages system means, under all circumstances, the thorough exploitation of the working class. It is impossible to abolish this exploitation without abolishing the system itself.

But wages rarely reach the highest point which they might even under these circumstances; more often they are found to be nearer to the lowest possible point. This point is reached when the wages do not even supply the workman with his barest necessities; when the workingman not only starves but starves rapidly, all work is at an end.

The wages swing between these two extremes; they are found to be lower the lower the necessities of the workman, the larger the supply of labor in the labor market, and the slightest capacity of the workingman for resistance.

In general, wages must be high enough to keep the workingman in a condition to work, or, to speak more accurately, they must be high enough to secure to the capitalist the measure of labor-power which he needs. In other words, wages must be high enough, not only to keep the workingman in a condition to work, but also in a condition to produce children who may be able to replace them. It follows that the industrial development has a tendency that is most pleasing to the capitalist, to wit, to lower the necessities of the workingman in order that his wages may be lower in proportion.

There was a time when skill and strength were requisites for a workingman. The period of apprenticeship was then long, the cost of his training considerable. Now, however, the progress made in the division of labor and the system of machinery render skill and strength in production more and more superfluous; they make it possible to substitute unskilled and cheap workmen for skilled ones; and consequently, to substitute weak women and even children in the place of men. Already in the early stages of manufactory this tendency is perceptible; but not until machinery is introduced into production does the wholesale exploitation commence of women and children of tender age—an exploitation of the most helpless among the helpless, who are made a prey of shocking mal-treatment and abuse. Thus, machinery develops a new and wonderful quality in the hands of the capitalist.

Originally, the wage-worker, who was not a member of the family of his employer, had to earn wages high enough to defray not only his own expenses but those of his family in order to enable him to propagate himself and to bequeath his labor power to others. Without this process on his part, the heirs of

the capitalists would find no proletarians ready-made for exploitation.

When, however, the wife, and, from early infancy, the children, of the workingman are able to take care of themselves, then the wages of the workingman can be safely reduced to the level of his own personal needs without the risk of stopping the supply of fresh labor power.

Over and above this, the labor of women and children affords the additional advantage that these offer less resistance than men; and their introduction into the ranks of the workers increases wonderfully the quantity of labor that is offered for sale in the market.

Accordingly, the labor of women and children does not only lower the necessities of the workingman, but it also diminishes his capacity for resistance in that it overstocks the labor market; owing to both these circumstances it lowers the wages of the workingman.—*The People.*

A WELCOME FUNERAL.

The death-blow of the railroad strike has fallen. When the famous or infamous decision of Judge Ricks in the Ann Arbor strike was rendered we felt that, in the end, good would come of it. Its effect was to transfer the battle ground of labor from the scene of work to the courts. Following naturally along this line the employes of the Union Pacific railroad have fought and won a battle against the representatives of the corporation which will become historic. Confronted by an order from Judge Dundy, of Nebraska, depriving them of the right of appeal to their superior officers; denying them their rights as free citizens to bestow their labor where their own volition indicated; and reducing them to a state of slavery, the employes of the Union Pacific carried the question to the United States district court, and, in a battle of intellect and reason, won what amounts to the establishment of the principle of compulsory arbitration. For the first time in the history of the labor movement, labor has been accorded a standing in court equal to that of capital. The moral is plain. In the future there will be few or no large railroad strikes. Arbitration will take their place—to the great advantage of both sides of the question and to the disadvantage only of the sensational press, which will lose columns of lurid and warped copy. The mission of the strike is fulfilled. Let it become a thing of the past.—*The Republic.*

Labor has created all the capital of the world, yet laborers have no capital. They are as easily plucked as children. To take from them is like stealing from a blind man. But every man who sets up a carriage and servants, has been doing it. Some poor, toiling animal in human form, or many of them, has been "touched" to enable an idler to set up his style. The workers are so blind, that although one of them has worked every day since childhood, has never enjoyed the luxury of the least extravagance, he can see some man, his neighbor, whom he knows has never done a day's real labor, ride by in the greatest of style, and not know it is the unpaid labor of such men as himself that enables the idler to so live in luxury. He is taught to vote some ticket and the men who steal his intelligence also take his purse. Poor laborers! you have for years voted your wealth into the hands of the Goulds, Vanderbilts, Carnegies, Depews and all the lesser fleecers down to the candidate for constable. Intelligence would make you free. Your crime is ignorance, and your present condition is the punishment you have received by order of that eternal court that is higher than man-made statutes or constitutions. Wisdom is of heaven, ignorance of the opposite place.—*Coming Nation.*

The most intense happiness is grown out of the most harrowing experiences, as good crops are grown in well harrowed soil.

IT IS NO JOKE.

The Coxey movement may be a crank movement, but it is no joke. On the contrary it is the most serious movement that has originated since the days of John Brown and Jim Lane. To disperse these men will not settle the trouble any more than cauterizing a cancer will destroy it. The movement is the product of a cause, just as slavery was the cause of the Brown raid. These people are probably as fanatical as John Brown's men were, but every hater of slavery was either a passive or active aider and abettor in running negroes into Canada, and every lover of liberty to-day is either a passive or active aider or sympathizer with these people. The duty of government is to aid and foster industry. This government has fostered plutocracy and robbed industry until labor has revolted against conditions that are no better than slavery. This is the forerunner of a revolution that can only be stopped by removing the causes which are producing it. The arrest or dispersion of these armies will not do this. They are quiet and peaceable now, and are praying for relief, for the right to earn their living by the sweat of their faces. They are unarmed and can be shot down like dogs, or hung as enemies of the government just as John Brown's men were shot. He was hung, but that did not stop the abolition movement. These men can be murdered, but that will only aggravate the matter and hasten the day when other men will take up the cause, and these men will not pray nor plead for their rights, but they will demand by superior physical force if necessary.

Temporary relief can be given by putting these men to work on the Hennepin canal, on an interstate railroad, on forts, on national highways, etc., but permanent relief can come only through the issurance of money, by the free coinage of silver, by issuing government notes made a legal tender instead of government bonds, and injecting some new life blood into the arteries of trade and commerce. That working people should die of starvation in this country that feeds the world is an outrage that somebody will answer for some day.

That two million working men should be idle and their families in want in a country practically new and undeveloped is a shame and a disgrace that will damn the statesmanship of the age as the most corrupt and impotent that has ever been known since civilization emerged from the dark ages.—*Independent American.*

LITERARY NOTES.

The May *Arena* closes the ninth volume of this leader among the progressive and reformative reviews of the English-speaking world. The table of contents is very strong and inviting to those interested in live questions and advanced thought. Among the important social and economic problems discussed and ably handled in a brave and fundamental manner, characteristic of this review, are: "First Steps in the Land Question," by Louis F. Post, the eminent single-tax leader; "The Philosophy of Mutualism," by Professor Frank Parsons, of the Boston University law school; "Emergency Measures for Maintaining Self-Respected Manhood," by the editor of *The Arena*. "The Saloon Evil" is also discussed in a symposium. One of the strongest paper on "Heredity" that has appeared in recent years is found in this issue from the pen of Helen H. Gardener. Rev. M. J. Savage appears in a very thoughtful paper on "The Religion of Lowell's Poems;" a fine portrait of Lowell appears as a frontispiece. Dr. James R. Cocke contributes a striking paper on "The Power of the Mind in the Cure of Diseases." A strong feature of this number is a brief character sketch by Stephen Crane entitled "An Ominous Baby." Stinson Jarvis' series of brilliant papers on "The Ascent of Life" closes with this issue. *The Arena* has made steady progress, its circulation having increased during the panic, and it has necessarily been enlarged to one hundred and forty-four

pages. There is, also, in addition to this, the book reviews, which cover over twenty pages, making in all a magazine of over one hundred and sixty pages. The steady increase in circulation of this $5 magazine during a period of unprecedented financial depression shows how deep-rooted and far-reaching is the unrest and social discontent; for this review has steadfastly given audience to the views of the social reformers of the various schools of thought.

The Tourney is a new monthly magazine that has come into the arena for the discussion of the live questions of the day. It bids fair to take a prominent place among the publications that are digging into the social problems that are agitating the world. It is published at Fort Collins, Colo.; subscription price, $1.50 per year. We have made arrangements with the publishers so we can furnish this MAGAZINE and *The Tourney* for $2.00 per year if paid in advance.

"Riches take wings," bat wings, and flit in dark safes and vaults; intelligent people ought to cease nosing after them.

The trinity of the American is gold, silver, and paper money; these three are one—to be won. And there is no saviour else; no god but these.

The American god (gold) is somewhat indisposed of late; his circulation is very much impaired by "lack of confidence." He is threatening a trip to Europe to re-coup himself.

There is no end of laws that are being piled up in the statute books, and that entangle one another in their enforcement; neither is there any end to law business; it keeps steady pace with the criminal enactment. There seems to be an "entangling alliance" between them, just as there is with diseases and there cure, each new disease requiring a new remedy, and each new remedy engendering some new disease.

PUNGENT PARAGRAPHS.

It is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous—but it is a long race back again.

The wise man never boasts of his strength or attainments. He knows how brittle is the thread of human aspirations.

Clocks that should strike only the hours of freedom, mark, instead, slowly and painfully, every exacted moment of slavish toil.

If the dissensions in the house, the senate, and the executive chamber continue, the coolness existing between them may be enclosed and rented for skating rinks next summer.

Man's restoration from the curse of labor is not release from labor, but from the curse of it; that is, labor, from the love of serving the neighbor, will come to be a delight instead of a drudgery.

Whenever it is proposed that the government do something for the people, a great howl goes up against paternalism; but there can be no more righteous policy than the one which proposes to help the plutocrats.

Our present financial system is like the negro's watch that would run only whey he did. Whenever the money sharks stop to take wind, or to get over a "lack of confidence," the whole commercial machinery has to stop too, until Shylock gets his breath.

No intelligent observer can think, for a moment, that the present distress is the natural result of a healthy industrial and financial policy. It is only the diseased body that must finally die to give place to a new and healthy one. Let our old commercial system die, thus giving place to a new one.

For years labor has toiled to enrich capital. Now that the latter's warehouses are full, and the farmers' stomachs are empty, greed has taken a scare and shut up business at the old stand, so that labor is compelled to live—if it lives at all—on the pittance doled out by the hand that clutches its earnings.

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Local Assembly 3218, Denver, will celebrate its tenth anniversary on May 25, and at the same time the late victory of the Union Pacific employes in the courts. T. Fulton Gantt, chief counsel for the joint organizations, who took part in the contest, will deliver an address on the subject of labor and its legal rights, following which will be dancing, the net proceeds to go toward paying the general expenses of the late contest in the courts.

Subscribers who are in debt to THE MAGAZINE for the amount of their subscriptions can do us and the movement THE MAGAZINE is supporting no greater favor than by paying up at once. The money is actually needed at once to carry it on. We have been easy in the matter of urging collections in the past, far too easy for good financial results, but we are forced to appeal to those who owe for THE MAGAZINE to aid us now. We wish we were able to make it free to everyone; however, we are not. We ask no charity, only what is due and on which we must depend to pay for printing the publication.

The discipline that labor organizations have created in the ranks of the masses is all that is keeping recognition of law and order as well it is in the United States to-day. Without their effort the idleness and distress resulting therefrom would cause the nation to tremble on its foundation. Plutocracy can bless the existence of labor organizations that it is not fleeing from the wrath of an outraged people. It may be that organization and its efforts may yet fail to resist the pressure that is constantly growing. Peace-loving men should rally to their support, that the reforms necessary in our social organizations may be evoluted into place without the general disturbance that seems imminent now.

May 1 is a day that ought to be remembered by all Union Pacific employes. Just ten years the first of this month the Union Pacific employes found themselves unorganized and facing a general reduction of wages. It was then that they first awoke to the necessity of organization. Those who took up the rights of the men then on this system have reason to be proud of the results when compared to similar efforts ever made before in the world. To those who have stood at the front during all that time can come only the thought of what a long, hard struggle it has been and how many times the feeling has come that all that was gained was about to be lost, yet the tenth year closes with the greatest victory labor has achieved standing to the credit of the Union Pacific employes. It was a fitting close of a decade of effort. Little knowing ten years ago what was before them, they know not what the next ten years may bring. Indifference on the part of the majority may lose all that has resulted from past efforts in the shape of material gains. The educational work done, which never can be estimated, can never be lost—that is permanent.

The strongest man is he that can overcome the enemies of his own household.

The surest way of being always pleasant is never to indulge in unpleasant or unkind thoughts.

According to the theory of re-embodiment, how ridiculous would the sacrilegious body-snatchers feel if they should awaken to find themselves peddling their own long cast-off anatomy to the profanation of the public gaze!

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

OGDEN, April 19, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The many readers of THE MAGAZINE in this part of the moral vineyard are well pleased with the manner in which the various labor questions and conditions have been handled both by yourself and the correspondents.

There are many more subjects yet to receive attention and we hope they may be met and discussed with equal ability and discretion.

A little news from this point may be of some interest to the many readers. However, in attempting to give this little, if I should not meet the expectations of those who peruse the pages of labor's exponent I ask their pardon.

The last legislature of this territory passed an act creating or rather authorizing the governor to organize a militia to be known as national guards. Our present governor, having had some little experience during the late unpleasantness as one of Morgan's guerillas, set about to get as many as possible to enlist in this Falstaffian army. After a speech at this point, wherein he pictured the glories and beauties of soldier life, he succeeded in getting quite a number of the boys to enlist, and some of them, I am sorry to say, are the sons of railroad employes, and the first duty they had to perform was that of guarding the property of corporations against the possible or supposed incursions of laboring men. To explain, General Kelly, who arrived here last Sunday with his industrial army of 1,300 men, on their journey to Washington to petition in the form of a living army against any further issue and sale of United States bonds to Wall street, to demand the immediate passage of a free and unlimited coinage act, to protest against the Chinese treaty recently formed and submitted for ratification, to insist upon the rigid enforcement of all immigration laws now on the statutes of this nation, were met and placed under arrest by our great and good ex-rebel governor, with his tin soldiers. Up to this time we did not know who composed this dangerous and warlike army, but we find that a great many are merchants and their clerks, who depend almost entirely upon the trade received from laboring men for their existence. I am neither an extremist nor an alarmist, but I do hold it to be the duty of laboring men to protect themselves first and others afterwards, and if these merchants and clerks, who have enlisted to make up this Falstaffian brigade, have done so with the view of increasing their sales, they will probably wake up to the fact that the reverse has happened.

The decision of Judge Caldwell has given universal satisfaction among the employes out here, and the recent decision of Judge Dundy, relating to the restoration of the wages of those who were cut in September, 1893, meets with equal approbation. We begin to believe there is "still a God in Israel." These two decisions have a greater import and are more far-reaching in their effect than one would at first imagine.

There is no use denying the fact that since the election of Grover Cleveland and a cuckoo congress, with the avowed purpose of a continual leveling down instead of up, there has been aroused a discontent and anger among the toiling millions on every hand and everywhere. This discontent is universal; it reaches from ocean to ocean, from lakes to gulf. The army of the idle is rapidly increasing. As the discontent and restlessness grew the idle increased; that other idea or sentiment began to appear, that idea that the courts of the land were in league with the rich, until this just judge gave to the world his clear-cut and positive opinion. The decisions heretofore rendered had been in the interest of wealth, gradually circumscribing and limiting the individual rights, until the anger of the toiling masses only needed the strong intellect, the determined will, the irresistible dash of a Napoleon to have marshaled the laboring classes in one solid phalanx, and driven the millionaire, the stock gambler and the prostituted politician from this continent or rolled their heads into the basket. A few just judges will quiet this feeling; a few more such decisions will have the effect of settling all disputes between capital and labor in an amicable manner, and when they cannot be so settled labor will know that justice can be had in the courts.

There is not an employe on this system, and I may say on any other system, within the jurisdiction of Judge Caldwell, but what has a greater respect and regard for the laws of the land than ever before.

During the stay of the commonweal

army at this place, we have had several of the officials of the road with us, of whom I may mention General Superintendent Bancroft, T. A. Daves, D. M. M. Wyoming division; J. F. Dunn, D. M. M. Idaho division; Joe H. Young, superintendent Utah division, and David Patterson, D. M M. Utah division.

There is not much work here at present. Traffic on the road seems to be at a standstill and the outlook for the future is not very encouraging.

There are five road engines laid up in the round house at this point, which means five crews more idle.

Some of the employes at this point have been on the sick list, but have recovered sufficiently to again report for duty. WILHELM.

ARMSTRONG, Kan., April 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

I made mention in my last letter that the weather was balmy and fine up to March 22d. After that date a radical change took place for the worse. From the above date it is nothing but a continuation of severe weather up to the present writing. At one time the mercury went down within 12 degrees of the hated cipher, damaging cereals, succulants and fruits of various kinds.

The company is commencing to clean up and renovate around the shops, which makes the several departments of the shops here look like a sepulchre—fair without and foul within, as the sanitary conditions of the interior of the several structures are in a sad plight.

The greatest fault is found by the men in that they cannot lower the upper half of the windows to get fresh air through these apertures. When the weather turns suddenly warm the men have to raise the lower half of the windows, and consequently a draft of air strikes the men at vital points of their bodies. Colds and pulmonary diseases set in and the result is that men will not be able to perform their daily work, and will have to lay off to recuperate their health, much to the disadvantage of the company. As its numbers are limited, the company should pay more attention to the comfort and welfare of its working members, in a sanitity point of view, than it has been doing. It seems the majority of the men pay more attention to long hours and overtime than they do to their health. Hence, the low state of infimness in the shops as everyone is complaining of some derangement of the system. It seems to be a failing among our countrymen. Nothing but Mammon; no matter how you get it, you will be respected if you have it galore. In the shops the men are working forty-eight hours a week, with plenty of toiling to do. Everyone is wishing to see better times, as a good deal of discontent exists among the men, and many of them would like to seek new fields of labor. There were two boiler makers here in the last six weeks. On the whole, no men leaving and none discharged.

Judge Caldwell's decision in favor of the men on the Union Pacific system is commended by every working man, no matter in what branch of the service he toils. His decision will be a living monument to him on this terrestrial sphere. When leaving this mundane planet I hope that part of him that is immortal shall ascend to the third heavens and there enjoy the glories of the Omnipotent forevermore.

There is no inducement for any workingman to come this way at present, no matter what his trade or occupation is. For a stranger to enter the shops at Armstrong one would suppose that he was a stockholder in the concern by his sturdy actions and nimble movements. Every man is astir and that for little money. The last hour on Saturday is sought after. AU BOUT DE SON.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, Iowa, April 20, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

I have read the April number of THE MAGAZINE and am favorably impressed with the tone of the utterances therein.

There is a splendid gain in the comparative positions of labor on the Union Pacific system, before and after the hearing in court. We have taken a lesson in new methods during the past ninety days, and I hope that the future actions of the employes will prove that the lesson itself has been taken to heart, and not only that, but that the knowledge gained will create a desire for more. It is very evident that if the courts were accessible to railroad employes under all circumstances, the day of force policies would be past, but as yet there appears to be no adequate means for obtaining a hearing in court for such employes except where the corporation is in the hands of receivers. Some steps should be taken immediately to provide for appeal to courts of equity for arbitration between corporations and their employes, under all circumstances of disagreement. Now is always the best time for action in the right direction. The Caldwell decision is an object lesson. We can avail ourselves of the machinery of the courts and thereby secure arbi-

tration by an authoritative tribunal in matters wherein heretofore there was no tribunal, except the test of endurance, and no decision which could be maintained without constant stress.

This decision is the precedent for a new departure in the theory of wages as well. It plainly states the proposition that the wages of labor must be just and fair, whether profits accrue or not. Of course, this doctrine is not new to a Knight of Labor, but it stands in direct contradiction to very many utterances made from the bench by time-serving judges heretofore. Taken with the utterance of Lord Roseberry, that prices must depend upon wages, rather than wages upon prices, we may consider that the theories and doctrines of the Knights of Labor have received a considerable degree of endorsement of late. When the misrepresentatives of the people at Washington get through with their tariff tinkering and currency botchwork, they should find confronting them such an array of demands—not petitions—for legislation in the interest of arbitration of labor difficulties as would draw their attention away from Wall street for a little while, and concentrate it on the interests of the people who send them to Washington for a purpose, and will replace them for the same purpose, if it becomes expedient.

As I write, the detachment of the industrial army under command of General Kelly, after having made successfully the journey from San Francisco to Council Bluffs, is encamped at Park's Mill, five miles from the city, stranded, and so far unable to proceed on its way, except on foot. It is estimated that there are at least 1,500 of them.

Governor Jackson of this state met them as they disembarked from their train with the demand that they proceed on their way without delay, and backed his utterance with the bayonets of five companies of the militia, brought here at the request of the railroad corporations to protect their property. After a day's rest General Kelly moved his men out to Park's Mill and camped alongside the Chattauqua pavilion, to which they were denied admittance at the point of the bayonet during a heavy storm of rain and hail. The whole community sympathizes with these unfortunate men and execrates the governor, who might at a very slight expense—compared with what he willingly incurred for militia, to please the corporations—have provided them transportation across the state on their way to their destination. In the middle ages men who were traveling on a pilgrimage were esteemed entitled to hospitality, but all that is changed in the "*glorious light of the nineteenth century.*"

That these men are pursuing a wise course is probably a matter of discussion, but that they are the victims of a vicious state of affairs, brought about by the vilest misconduct on the part of lawmakers and executives, is not any longer in the realm of argument, neither that just laws, properly executed, would be efficacious as a remedy. And it is evident that they are, in a very persistent manner, endeavoring to attract the attention of congress to the evil and its remedy. We know that work for all and wages for the workers would settle this question of production and distribution. We know, too, that work can be had for all until the resources of the earth are exhausted, and we know just as well that wages are limited only by the value of the product of applied labor, and that the only object of human government is the regulation of production and distribution.

Why, then, should these earnest men—many of them careful students and thinkers, some of them scholars—not be afforded every facility to reach the ear and command the attention of the legislative and executive departments of their government. I felt ashamed when I saw gray-haired veterans, wearing the badge of the Grand Army of the Republic, among the commonwealers, and heard that Frank D. Jackson—late a pension shark—by accident governor—had, by virtue of his authority, ordered these men to *move on!* and threatened them with the bayonets of the militia in the hands of boys who have taken their object lesson in patriotic devotion from the history of the deeds of these very men and their fellows on the battlefields of the great rebellion.

While we congratulate ourselves on the great gain we have lately made in the recognition of our manhood by the courts of our land, we must confess that humanity is very far from the goal of progress. NEMO.

POCATELLO, April 10, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Now that the courts have decided that the receivers were a little previous in their desire to overthrow the good work of labor organizations on the Union Pacific system, I have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived that all of the employes of this system should begin to put their considering caps on and decide for themselves to whom shall be given the honor and gla-

ries of such a grand result. It is true, Mr. Editor, that you sounded the alarm long before they began to show their hand. But how many of those men that are and have been benefited by the efforts that have been put forth ungrudgingly, will acknowledge the corn to-day. Many men are yet so ignorant of the cause of things that take place, that they actually believe that organizations of laboring men are a failure today. The day will surely come and that very shortly that matters will so shape themselves that they will have to confess that without the benefits accruing to organization they would verily have been as chaff before the winds. By the efforts of organized labor, backed by the laws of equity and the decisions of the courts, strikes you may say have been wiped out of existence, or have become things of the past. For this alone, if nothing else, all railway employes should from the bottom of their hearts say "amen."

But when we consider the past and try to peer into the future, it becomes the duty of workingmen to stay with their organizations and use their very best efforts to induce all others to help build them up, so that they will be able, aided by the laws of equity, to withstand the efforts that will be most surely aimed at them to destroy the good that has been obtained in the past.

Just as long as the unjust accumulation of wealth exists and poverty abounds, we will have to stand by our guns and be prepared for any enemy that comes along, even though it comes from the rank and file of the working classes.

We, here in Pocatello, have just passed through a city election for mayor, aldermen, etc. The least said about it the better for the political morals of your readers here. But this much I can say, that the action of the two old parties should be an everlasting lesson to the "party of reform" never to ally themselves with either. But fight on their own platform, pure, simple and honest as it is, and the victory must come.

The work about the shops is about the same as usual, only there seems to be a desire on the part of the hiring department to ignore the services of residents of the town and their past records with the company. Time, I suppose, may straighten these things out to the satisfaction of all concerned. Let us hope so.

I think, Mr. Editor, I have occupied enough of your space this time—wishing success to the future efforts of our noble order in this locality and also our district officers who have so nobly stood the brunt of the fight and came out victorious. JOE.

LARAMIE, WYO., April 25, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

About the only thing to make us think we are still alive is the interest manifested in the industrial army that seems to be growing all over the country, and the strike on the Great Northern and among the coal operatives. Otherwise everything is moving along so that we seldom feel a jar. Messrs. Dickinson, McConnell and others passed through here a few days ago, going west, and once more our papers can talk about a new depot, round house, etc. If they got half as tired trying to boom the place as people do reading about it, they might possibly stop. In fact, we have had so much of this that I believe people at a distance, to whom copies of our great dailies are sent, no longer believe what they read. Some of the Union Pacific employes who struck a gold mine not a great ways from Laramie, think the papers are doing them more harm than good, because they have told so many ridiculous stories about mining, glassworks, and so on. Some of the finest specimens of gold-bearing rock that has ever been found in the state came from this camp.

Work in shops, with the usual force, is going on as customary. Shops and roundhouse are being treated to a coat of whitewash with a machine copied after some used to paint and calcimine the world's fair buildings, using compressed air and a flat nozzle that puts on the whitewash much like a Chinese laundryman sprinkles his clothes.

We have had one case of smallpox that was no doubt contracted by Conductor Gracie at Omaha, but he is getting along finely. I sometimes think that the fear of this dread disease has as much to do with spreading it as any other known or unknown agent. Our best physicians will not deny that the mind has much to do with the cure of disease. If this be true, it can have as much to do with their contagion. The disease will never spread where there are no cowards who are afraid they will have to go to heaven and be rewarded with crown and harp.

Since the last victory (?) of the Republican and American A. P. E.s in the city election the Republicans are again talking of rehabilitating the old protection ghost this fall. The Jacobs who will seek office in both old parties will be infused by the same former spirits, make

great speeches, catch the suckers' votes, and if elected once more sell them for a mess of pottage with their votes when they get to the legislative halls.

I am occasionally asked by some of our almost worn-out polticians if there is any difference between the old party representative and those of the People's party. I am always forced, from the knowledge I have from past experience, to answer in the affirmative, and point with pride to the fact that we can distinguish a Populist every time a question comes up in the interest of the common people by his adherence to the Omaha platform, and all secretly wish they could do the same, and some so openly express themselves. Yet these men pride themselves as being sovereigns. I am opposed to the representative system, because we abandon our sovereignty the moment we elect a representative to vote for us in the making of laws. Reason ought to be able to discern the perfect state, and it ought to be able to see the necessity of setting about at once establishing and working for its construction and revision of the constitution. Before we can drive the Jacobs out of their legislative haunts, we must give the people the right to vote and settle all important laws themselves. No law would then be legalized that could be formed in any way to be opposed to the fundamental principles of human rights. Elections would be divided only by choice between individuals and measures. Direct legislation would annihilate party and party enmity, and we would no longer be robbed of our sovereignty as American citizens. These are principles worth advocating. The only life worth living is the moral power of devotion to a principle, and brave men and women never shirk their duty to advocate a principle because it faiis to be popular. LXXXII.

SHOSHONE, April 24, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

We have just had a visit from General Manager Dickinson and a retinue of lesser lights. A tally-ho and four conveyed the party to the great "Shoshone Falls" and "Blue Lakes," and, by the way, how many readers of THE MAGAZINE have ever heard of "Shoshone Falls" and know that we here, located in the sage brush plains and lava-bed section of Idaho have one of the finest natural attractions to be found in the inter-mountain region, not excepting the famous Yellowstone Park, superior in some respects to Niagara. The only point in which the eastern falls excell the Idaho wonder is in the volume of water daily and hourly falling over its brink.

The surroundings of "Shoshone Falls" are wild and weird, while the falls themselves are beautiful beyond description. The waters drop 210 feet, exceeding Niagara, we believe, by fifty feet, compelling the admiration of the beholder as they roar and tumble between the wild-looking and deep walls of solid lava rock.

The "Blue Lakes," three miles down the Snake river from the falls, are by some considered a greater attraction than the falls. Getting off the train at Shoshone, one may reach these interesting points by a stage ride of twenty-eight miles at a cost of $5. To the readers of THE MAGAZINE I say, you have not traveled nor seen your own wonderful country until you have looked upon the great Shoshone Falls. Come and see them now, ere it is too late, for already the land hog, who wants the earth and then wants all others to pay tribute to him for the privilege of living on the earth and enjoying its wonders, is looking over the situation with a view to securing a monopoly for a taxing privilege.

Note the trend of events in the same direction with reference to the Yellowstone park. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad is now endeavoring to have a bill passed through congress, Congressman Coffeen, of Wyoming, having the bill in charge, by the terms of which they will have a monopoly of transportation facilities through the park. Other companies who desire to do so may use the road through the park upon terms to be fixed. The present terminus is at or near Sheridan, which is the home of the Wyoming congressman, who has large land and business interests in and near Sheridan. One of the strongest advocates of this proposition is a Mr. Gillette, who is a surveyor in the employ of the Burlington road, and who is a son-in-law of Congressman Coffeen. We gather from newspaper articles that this is the person who is looking after the part the press is to play in this proposition. Congressman Coffeen, if he desires to serve the interests of the people, might much better prepare a bill providing for the government ownership and operation of the road through the park, or insert in his present bill a clause turning the road over to the government after a term of years, say ten or fifteen.

Senator Carey, of Wyoming, is engaged in pressing a measure, the purpose of which is to turn over the government lands of the arid region to the dif-

ferent states. This should be opposed by every working man in the west until there is positive assurance that the bill contains stringent provisions against the possibility of the lands falling into the hands of land pirates through state legislation.

As a result of the visit of the officials, we understand, flowers are to be cultivated about the shops and some trees set out, which will relieve the desolate appearance of the surroundings that now obtains. SAGE BRUSH.

DENVER, Colo., April 27, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Correspondence failed to appear from here last month and I heard many inquiring why this was; but, there seemed to be nothing special to refer to. All were anxiously watching events at Omaha in the legal contest, and all were pleased at the result, though there are some that have nothing to say and some evidently regard it as too tame an affair to receive, openly, at least, their commendation. Some have been trying to satisfy themselves, and at the same time some one else, who should have the credit for bringing about these results, but if they would refer to back numbers of THE MAGAZINE, especially since November last, and then what appears in the answer of the employes filed in the courts, they need no longer be in doubt or worry themselves. It is a question that does not matter anyway as time always develops such matters so no one can doubt; it is results we want now and to support and keep in motion that which will most surely bring results. There is plenty more to be done in the future, and as we never know what moment a defense must be raised, we have to be constantly prepared. A reorganization of the company and a release from the courts might suddenly confront us all with new defensive problems. We have no time to waste dickering over any side issues. What is wanted most surely on the Union Pacific is a "getting together," and under the protection of such organization as is best equipped to do practical business. It matters little what its name may be, or whether it has any.

District Assembly 82 has shown itself to be the only one equipped to lead after pointing out the way, in the late contest, and has the advantage of being recognized both by the court and company, and in full touch with the organizations of the road men. There can be little hope to improve on it, but if it can be it should be; but at any rate, the men have got to get together, if they expect to hold what they have or gain any, in some form, and there should be little now left in the way of so doing. The man who attempts to raise anything can only be classed with the enemies of humanity.

There was considerable excitement here last month over the police board fight, but the Populists have come out on top and are now reorganizing the fire and police departments, and it is hoped in a way that will commend them to every citizen.

Local Assembly 3218 has a committee of arrangements appointed for its tenth anniversary entertainment and dance, and I have learned from them that they have about decided on May 25 as the date and T. Fulton Gantt, of North Platte, to deliver the annual address, and to make it a joint affair, anniversary celebration and celebration of the victory of the employes in the United States courts—the receipts to go toward the expenses of the employes in the courts. This will be a good time for all the employes to get together again and open up a new era—unity and fraternity—forgetting the mistakes of the past, remembering the good things and getting into shape to assure good results in the future. It is pleasing to see that such is the move all over the country. Local Assembly 3218 is devoting two meetings a month to open discussion, with the public invited, and they are growing more popular every month. XXX.

A nettle temper inflicts its own sting.

The less faith a man has in God the more faith he has in himself.

Anger is a consuming fire; it withers the tender emotions of the heart.

HOW'S THIS!

We offer one hundred dollars reward for any case of catarrh that cannot be cured by Hall's Catarrh Cure. F. J. CHENEY & Co., Proprietors, Toledo, Ohio.

We, the undersigned, have known F. J. Cheney for the last fifteen years, and believe him perfectly honorable in all business transactions and financially able to carry out any obligation made by their firm.

WEST & TRUAX,
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Hall's Catarrh Cure is taken internally, acting directly upon the blood and mucous surfaces of the system. Price 75c. per bottle. Sold by all druggists. Testimonials free.

UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

VOL. IX. JUNE, 1894. No. 5

THE ANCHORS THAT MUST STEADY THE SHIP OF STATE IN THE COMING STORM.

The value of labor organizations to the well-being of the nation is being shown at the present time. In the face of idleness and starvation in every part of the land, what would be seen if is was not for the discipline that labor organizations have created, and so far have been fairly able to maintain? Holding men steady, when it would seem as if the common demands of nature would drive them to desperation.

Managers of corporations and the heads of great manufacturing establishments, who have resorted to every means, both foul and fair, to check and disintegrate organizations of workmen, must realize that it is to them they must look now for their greatest factor of safety, and would feel more easy if a larger percentage of men had studied social questions in the assembly halls of labor organizations. It is far safer to deal with intelligence than ignorance. Right suppressed is right just the same, and asserts itself in time. The delay but makes its appearance appear more destructive, as it has that much more of the results of wrong to undo. Given full play at all times, and peace would reign on earth.

A long continuation of social wrongs must in time bring us to a period of adjustment. There can be no "vested rights" founded on social wrongs, and stand permanently supported by those who have been wronged, whether it be in the form of titles to thrones or titles to property. The adjustment toward right can only be delayed, never absolutely stopped. It is far better that such come gradually, by keeping constantly open every avenue to reach truth.

Labor organizations are such avenues. What they, in the most practical sense, deal with is the effect of a wrong, but their incidental tendency is to open investigation to the cause, to expose the truth. Given full and natural

results immediately. It is men in such condition of mind that form the maelstrom of revolutions with all their accompanying horrors.

Much can be done to relieve the situation by bringing as many as possible under the influence and leadership of the organizations which have dealt with social-labor questions long enough to be able to work from an intellectual, reasoning standpoint. Their past enemies, even from their hostile standpoint, will find it much the better course to deal with such drilled bodies than what must be practically a mob.

The mistakes of the past we must suffer for in the future, but where they can be corrected in time to relieve the results it is a crime not to do so. Let there at once be greater attention shown to the educational and disciplinarian work of labor organizations by those who heretofore sought their destruction. They will be anchors to steady the ship of state through the storm that seems to be hovering over us.

AN OBJECT LESSON AT CRIPPLE CREEK, COLORADO

A condition of social affairs exists at the present writing in the Cripple Creek mining district of Colorado that is receiving wide attention. The miners, who were practically locked out over differences as to the conditions of employment by the mine owners last winter, have, through organization, gained the practical command of the situation. Organization of labor has in this instance, locally reached the logical limit of the use of force, thus, as an armed, fortified body of men, in array against a similar body, but which latter body has the guise of law and authorized authority behind them. Any strike is but a milder feature of the same position.

Now, the question arises, what must result, providing there is not some agreement reached between the opposing forces, or when similar conditions arise in the future. The miners have all the moral rights on their side, the mine owners have much of the legal ones. They claim the right of property in the mines and the guarantee of government to support them in the enjoyment of that right. The miners' rights are those that partake of the inalienable rights of men, the mine owners' is that of property. The law apparently throws about property the greatest protection, as men, in their eagerness to obtain property, have forgotten that there is such a thing as the rights of men and have failed to provide properly for their protection.

The present condition is bringing squarely before the

people a question that they must solve in the near future. How far can government support a man's claim to property in degradation of the rights of man? If labor, in pressing its claims, which are even now recognized as just, reaches that degree of organization that conditions such as seen at Cripple Creek become general, what must be the result? Either these miners have rights which they have a right to support or they have none, for what good is a right if you have no right to support it, or only to a limited extent? A nation has the recognized right to go to any limit in support of a right principle, why is this not true wherever applied? Either the method of force is wrong from the beginning or these miners are right. If a man has a right to fight his enemy, he has a right to fight hard enough to overcome the enemy.

In the face of present conditions society looks on, apparently in doubt as to what to do.

It ought to force deep the thought that in the question of the differences between capitalists and laborers society must provide a sure means of adjustment; that it must prepare the machinery necessary to define and enforce the rights of all; that all that arises under what is known as labor difficulties falls to the duty of governmental functions to handle; that it is all a political question in the broadest sense of politics, being the science of government, governments being intended as the means to enforce right relations between its citizens.

For government to now step in and disarm the miners would be to give to the mine owners the power to dictate the miners' conditions of employment, which would be allowing an injustice to the miners. Government has as yet provided no definite means whereby it can enforce the just rights of labor. To allow the existing conditions to remain cannot, in the long run, bring improvement, locally. The whole matter, as it stands, demonstrates that in the building of governments we have overlooked some very necessary things for their perfection. It demonstrates that to insure abstract rights to men, governments have got to take to themselves the performance of many things now done in the name of individuals, to insure right relations between individuals, for, if left as they are, occasions will multiply when government cannot interfere without doing or allowing injustice to one side or the other, and yet is under obligations to maintain peace between its members. No just government can stand under which a few men, because of the possession of property, can project and maintain an injury to other citizens. Such a condition is now before us at Cripple Creek. It ought to drive us as a nation to go to any extent in revising our plan of government that is necessary to a pre-

vention of such conditions, no matter how loath we may be to change that which we have been taught to reverence. Let justice and right prevail though the heavens fall.

The time is opportune for a general discussion of these questions. A whole people are agitated in one degree or another because of something that seems to be wrong, resulting from our social machinery. Some are seeking to patch it up here and others there. Few have the courage to raise the question, why should not the ricketty old affair be thrown away entirely and a new one more calculated to the needs of the time constructed in its place. Why should anyone approach a matter of so much importance in fear and trembling. Governments are man-made; there is nothing about them we have any occasion to fall down before and reverence. They are practical things in the hands of the living, and for the use of the living. With us the consideration of its conditions is a duty falling equally on every citizen. It is not only in our power, but it is our duty, to make it just what we want. If wrong things result it is sure evidence that something is wrong with it or its management. Let the object lesson seen at Cripple Creek make us more active in taking practical steps toward a better condition of affairs. It is most evident we cannot do it by working independent of governmental methods. Real politics are forced to our attention more strongly than ever.

THE TRUE COMMONWEAL MOVEMENT.

It must be evident to every person who gives a thought to the general conditions that exist, socially, at the present time that a discouragingly small percentage of the people realize their individual powers or duties as members of society. There is seen a general inclination to look to some other power or persons for relief, and then only when the need of it is brought severely to their attention. This is demonstrated in the commonweal movement toward Washington. It partakes much of the olden-time movements of petitioning the king.

It may be a necessary expediency to get relief simply because of such a condition of mind of the masses, but it is certainly not in accord with the principles on which a republic rests, in which the sovereign power rests with the people. Proper reforms cannot be expected when the people themselves fail to perform those duties that a republic devolves on each of its citizens.

Passing events demonstrate the need of a vast amount of political education—political used in its true sense, as the science of government, of social relations. If the masses had

possessed and exercised such knowledge in times past, with a view of bringing about right conditions, there would be no common woe now to instigate commonweal armies. A force would have sprung from the common fountain of governmental power—the people—that would have accomplished the ends or prevented wrong conditions.

If there is going to be no change in this respect in the future there is going to be no change in resulting conditions. To awaken this sense of personal duty must be the principal work of real reformers. The natural principles of government must be more widely understood. This must be true even though the conditions that at present exist bring on a revolutionary struggle, as history reveals to us of the past; humanity will come out of it advanced only in proportion as the whole know the right. That such may be lost sight of is the greatest thing to be feared of revolutions.

The question is, what will aid this educational work more rapidly than the influences that are now at work? The simple stirring up of the prejudices of the masses against some particular individuals as being more responsible than any one else for common-woe conditions, is not doing it, but on the contrary is diverting the energies of men in an opposite direction.

Labor organizations as means of defenses are not now increasing. There are too large masses, idle and suffering. Employment at any condition is the present feature; organizations as they have usually stood do not aid in giving employment, hence the incidental educational work that such do is reducing rather than increasing. Political speakers, as a rule, avoid appealing to men to reason, but to follow the lead of some party or persons, persuading them that such is the best for them to do; leave those they have been following and follow another. But this is just what they have been doing in times past, and because they have failed to use reason in dictating their acts, the reverse of what they have wanted has resulted.

It is evident that like causes will produce like results, and therefore to expect different results, different methods must be pursued. We have got to make the improvements out of the material we have, and that material, in social affairs, is men's minds. Those minds must be improved to have an improved material for a more enlightened social structure.

There are those scattered throughout the land who can do much in thus making possible the improvements needed. They are those who have already gone deep in the study of natural rights, who can exert an influence on their less studious neighbors to read and think. It is not necessary for such

to stir up prejudices of their neighbors and incite a general hostility toward some other parts of society. General conditions will do that sufficiently for all needed purposes, and there are plenty of those who never look below the surface to perform such work. In fact, the danger lays in such agitation getting beyond the advance of reason and simply destroying, without the power and knowledge to rebuild better.

Nor is it necessary to create formulas for the remedying of ills. They never are suited for the circumstances that arise. The conditions necessary for their application never come just right. It is those conditions the formula makers never have control over. It is on the reasoning forces that are present at the moment the necessity and opportunity arises that we must depend as to what to do. Create this wherever possible by encouraging men to independent thought. The truth and what is right and just is the end to be reached. There can be but one truth to any proposition. The surest way of reaching it is by the freest opportunities for investigation. A man who holds a truth reached by such methods is sure to support it; is safe to trust to put it into practice. Such seldom disappoint those who put them forward to perform an act for the common good. Let every man who would benefit humanity raise the question, why, in as many minds as possible, it is not necessary for them to state the answer they have, why society is not on a better footing, for then they might believe you and you might be wrong, besides they might be satisfied with the answer and they would not become seekers, but believers, and believers never add anything to the intellectual powers of society.

Man, prompted by a conscientiousness of what is right, is under control of a force that seldom lets him go wrong. The ideal government will be one in which every individual is thus controlled. Let us aid every avenue leading to that end and we will be doing the best possible to make the world better. It is the true commonweal movement.

THE "BORROWING" CLASS OF FOREMEN.

In times before labor organizations became an influence in railroad operation, it was quite a common thing for men in foremen's positions to consider that their positions gave them power to levy a tax on those under them; that such men were under certain personal obligations to them for giving and retaining them in employment. A substantial present often gave a man employment he would not otherwise get, and a "loan" to the foreman was considered an easy way of being retained in employment.

Organizations of workmen have had a tendency to check that method of taxation, and but for the difficulty of always finding proper proof, would have been made unknown. But the giver, morally speaking, is as bad as the taker, and is quite as alert in covering up his own shame.

Traces of this condition of employment are still to be found and probably will be so long as cupidity and servility exist in men, but it deserves all the attention that *men* can give it. It cannot be too severely punished. There may be some excuse for a poor, ignorant workman, fearing the loss of employment, of giving up part of his earnings to secure the rest, but solely on the grounds of mental duress and individual weakness, but neither of these need to exist when he is united with his fellow workman in organization. He then has a power behind him greater than the supposed power of the foreman. Where thorough organization exists, this system of taxation cannot exist, and it must be taken as one of the reasons why certain foremen are so hostile to the existence of organization of men under them. It is safe to say that foremen who are opposed to organizations are so from the personal reasons that it prevents their positions from being quite so profitable, no matter what other reasons they may offer.

One case was exposed through organization several years ago on the South Park division of the Union Pacific, in which the roadmaster had collected $10 each month from a section foreman for a year and was compelled to pay it back, he losing his own position. He probably would not have been exposed if his greed had not overdone the matter and he had not demanded from the section foreman a cow he had, as a bonus for retention in his position another year.

But this system of borrowing by foremen from men under them is one of the most demoralizing conditions that can exist where any large number of men are employed. No matter, even, if the debt is paid. Every person in an official position over men who practices it ought to be removed at once on general principles, as a person unfit for the place. To expose such should be one of the active duties of labor organizations. It is a matter of beneficial interest to both employer and employe, and it is with satisfaction that we note that several suspected cases of the "borrowing habit" is being investigated by organized effort on the Union Pacific system. The employes are positively sure that the present management will co-operate with them in the suppression of such conditions. While facts are generally hard to get, they sometimes come to the surface accidentally. The "borrowing" foreman must go if any means of finding them can be found. The Union Pacific is, comparatively, too good a

system to support any such incubuses. Men who buy jobs are not, as a rule, the best ones to fill them, nor are the men who pay to retain them.

ALL those who received a restoration of the cut in wages made on the Union Pacific last fall, no matter what their position is, are indebted to the organized employes who successfully contested in the courts a further reduction in wages. Those organizations were the Knights of Labor, who first opened the case, and the engineers', firemen's, conductors', trainmen's and telegraphers' brotherhoods who immediately joined their forces in the contest. If they had failed there would have been no restoration, but a further reduction. The restoration was in accord with what General Manager Dickinson said on the witness stand that he would recommend, and as the cut was made before the receivers were appointed, it required an order of the court to restore it, and for such an order the receivers petitioned Judge Dundy. The claim that the American Railway Union had anything whatever to do with it, especially in face of the action of the leaders of that organization before and during the proceedings before Judge Caldwell, which was in direct opposition to a resort to the courts, is nonsense. Results, not honor or credit, is what all employes want, but it seems anything but right for those to claim credit for success, when they deserve condemnation for attempting to defeat success. Time, however, is the best adjuster of all such questions. If there is any special credit for the result of the proceedings before Judge Dundy it is due General Manager Dickinson for the stand he took before Judge Caldwell in declaring that it would be unfair to reduce one class of the employes and not another, and if the court did not allow a further reduction, he would recommend a restoration of wages to those who had been cut. Actions are the best proof of the intentions of any man or body of men. If we hold strikes to be bad methods, the best proof of our sincerity is shown in the steps we take to find better methods.

OCCASIONALLY there is seen a freak among men that seems to have a combination of mind that can only find fault with what everyone else is doing. There seems to be no method with its fault-finding, complaining of that which it proposes itself as readily as from others. Such are, as viewed from the normal condition of minds, miserably unhappy beings, yet are probably as happy as others following the natural bent of their minds. Such beings must be endured, though quite as disturbing and dangerous as other forms of

insanity; although not to life and limb, they are to the moral well-being of men, and perhaps at some future time, when society becomes more enlightened as to the influences governing its well-being, will restrain natures of that kind quite as quick as those whose bend of mind is to destroy life. Such seem to arise from those with an abnormal jealous disposition, which, failing to be satisfied, flys toward the destruction of what all others advance. They soon grow to be at outs with the whole world. It shows itself also, though generally in a more modified form, in the display of fanaticism that develops in one form or another in every generation. This generally develops in a collective shape—many meeting together effected with all degrees of the disease, and generally runs toward a common thing or idea. It appears also with an apparent method to its insanity which is not true in individual freaks, who are fanatics against everybody and everything. With such, everyone but themselves are dishonest, a position that their dispositions compell them to take. When such a disposition accidentally gets into position to force men to listen to him—for it is only by accident such are ever able to get there—they become about as bad an affliction as men ever suffer under, and there seems to be no sure way of avoiding such afflictions. It must be classed among the accidents mankind are subject to, horrible as the agony they cause is.

HOW TO HELP THE UNEMPLOYED.

An epidemic of what passes for charity is sweeping over the land. From New York, where the new and massive United Charities building, the million-dollar gift of one philanthropist, gives stately evidence that the battle against actual starvation has permanently transcended the powers of a municipality that appropriates to it millions annually and of the unorganized giving of greater millions; and from Chicago, where the corridors of the city hall and the doors of churches have been thrown open for the shelter of those so poor as to welcome such a bed; to Seattle, on Puget Sound, or Tampa, on the Mexican Gulf—all who have anything to give are being asked to give. Municipalities, churches, boards of trade, real estate associations, labor unions and merchants' organizations are giving and asking for charity funds. Officials are surrendering a percentage on their salaries, policemen, railroad operatives, the employes of large business establishments, factory hands, and even day laborers, are docking themselves of part of their pay, and trades dinners being given up to swell charity subscriptions. There are charity balls, charity parties, charity entertainments, and charity funds of all sorts. One great paper in New York is raising an old-clothes fund, and another great paper a bread fund, and in Ashland, Wis., they have made a mince pie twenty-two feet in circumference and a quarter of a ton in weight. The politicians are always large givers of alms, politicians of the Tammany type especially; but even Tammany has special relief committees at work. One of the chiefs of New York's "400" calls on each pupil of the public schools for a daily contribution of a cold potato and a slice of bread for the organized feeding of the hungry; and to complete the parallel with the

"bread and circuses" of the dying Roman republic, he also asks that the churches be opened and their organs played every afternoon, so that to free food may be added free music!

Yet there has been no disaster of fire or flood, no convulsion of nature, no destruction by public enemies. The seasons have kept their order, we have had the former and the latter rain, and the earth has not refused her increase. Granaries are filled to overflowing, and commodities, even these we have tried to make dear by tariff, were never before so cheap.

The scarcity that is distressing and frightening the whole country is a scarcity of employment. It is the unemployed for whom charity is asked; not those who cannot or will not work, but those able to work anxious to work, who, through no fault of their own, cannot find work. So clear, indeed, is it the great masses who are suffering in this country to-day, by far the greater part are honest, sober and industrious, that the pharisees who preach that poverty is due to laziness and thriftlessness, and the fanatics who attribute it to drink, are for the moment silent.

Yet why is it that men able to work and willing to work cannot find work. It is not strange that the failure to work should bring want, for it is only by work that human wants are satisfied. But to say that widespread distress comes from widespread inability to find employment no more explains the distress than to say that the man died from want of breath explains a sudden death. The pressing question, the real question is: What causes the want of employment.

This, however, is the question that the men of light and leading, the preachers, teachers, philanthropists, business men and editors of great newspapers, who all over the country are speaking and writing about the distress and raising funds for the unemployed, show no anxiety to discover. Indeed, they seem averse to such inquiry. "The cause of the want of employment," they say, *tacitly or openly*, "is not to be considered now. The present duty is to keep people from starving and freezing, or being driven to break in and steal. This is no time for theories. It is a time for alms."

This attitude, if one considers it, seems something more that strange. If in any village a traveler found the leading men clustered about the body of one who had clearly come to untimely death, yet anxious only to get it buried; making no inquiry into the cause of death, and even discouraging inquiry, would he not suspect them of knowing more of that cause than they cared to admit? Now, this army of unemployed is as unnatural as is death in the prime of life and vigor of every organ and faculty. Nay, it involves presumption of wrong as clearly as cut throat or shattered skull.

What more unnatural than that alms should be asked, not for the maimed, the halt and the blind, the helpless widow and the tender orphan, but for grown men, strong men, skillful men, men able to work and anxious to work! What more unnatural than that labor—the producer of all food, all clothing, all shelter—should not be exchangeable for its full equivalent in food, clothing and shelter; that while the things it produces have value, labor, the giver of all value, should seem valueless!

Here are men, having the natural wants of man, having the natural powers of man—powers adapted and intended and more than sufficient to supply those wants. To say that they are willing to use their powers for the satisfaction of their wants, yet cannot do so, is to say that there is a wrong. If it is not their fault, whose fault is it? Wrong somewhere there must be.

Of old it was said: "If any would not work, neither should he eat." Men able to work, and willing to work, who could not find work, were not dreamed of. External nature is the same; the constitution of man has not changed. How, then, is it that we now hear: "He who cannot find work shall be fed by charity?" Those who say this do not say: "He who does not work shall be fed

by charity." These pseudo-philanthropists know the penalty of such an attempt to annul the natural law that by his toil man shall be fed. By skimping the dole to what will just prevent actual starvation, and by tests and inquiries and degrading conditions of organized charity, they try to draw the line between those who cannot find work and those who do not want to. But this line it is impossible to draw, for no such clear line exists. Organize charity as we may, men who cannot find work are converted into men unwilling to work.

For willingness to work depends on what can be had by work and what can be had without work, and the personal and social estimate of the relation. Work is in itself painful and repellent. No human being ever worked for the sake of working. I write this article that it may be published in *The North American Review*, and that I may get the pay for it, and communicate my thought to others. But the work of writing it is as irksome to me as sawing wood. So with all work. In a ruder stage men looked upon the necessity of work as the curse of an offended Creator. We who may now see to what marvelous advances it has led, and recognize in it the motor of all human progress, may behold in it, not a curse, but a blessing. But its irksomeness remains. What keeps any of us at work are our desires and hopes—our wants and our pride. Kill hope and lessen desire by crucifying the feeling of personal independence and accustoming your man to a life maintained by alms, and you will make of the most industrious a tramp. For the law of our being is that we seek the gratification of our desires with the least exertion.

Why should charity be offered the unemployed? It is not alms they ask. They are insulted and embittered and degraded by being forced to accept as paupers what they would gladly earn as workers. What they ask is not charity, but the opportunity to use their own labor in satisfying their own wants. Why can they not have that? It is their natural right. He who made food and clothing and shelter necessary to man's life has also given to man, in the power of labor, the means of maintaining that life; and when, without fault of their own, men cannot exert that power, there is somewhere a wrong of the same kind as denial of the right of property and denial of the right of life—a wrong equivalent to robbery and murder on the grandest scale.

Charity can only palliate present suffering a little at the risk of fatal disease. For charity cannot right a wrong; only justice can do that. Charity is false, futile and poisonous when offered as a substitute for justice. This is the fatal taint that runs through all the efforts of the rich and influential to aid the unemployed, with which our newspapers now are full. Like the gathering of clergymen called in Chicago by Editor Stead—blinded leader of the wilfully blind—their spirit is that of men pretending to look for what they are determined not to find; of men, like those of Mascow of whom Tolstoi tells, willing to do anything to help the poor—except to get off their backs.

Yet this is to be expected. For the question of the unemployed is but a more than usually acute phase of the great labor question—a question of the distribution of wealth. Now, given any wrong, no matter what, that effects the distribution of wealth, and it follows that the leading class must be averse to any examination or question of it. For, since wealth is power, the leading class is necessarily dominated by those who profit by injustice in the distribution of wealth. Hence, the very indisposition to ask the cause of evils so great as to arouse and startle the whole community is but proof that they spring from some wide and deep injustice.

What that injustice is may be seen by whoever will readily look. We have only to ask to find.

What do we mean when we say that it is scarcity of employment from which the masses are suffering? Not what w

mean when we say of the idle rich that they suffer from want of employment. There is no scarcity of need for work when so many are suffering for the want of things that work produces, when all of us would like more, and all but a very few of us could advantageously use more, of those things. Nor do we mean that there is a scarcity of ability to work or willingness to work. Nor yet do we mean that there is scarcity of natural materials and forces necessary to work. They are as abundant as they ever were or ever will be until the energy radiated by the sun upon our globe loses its intensity. What we really mean by "scarcity of employment" is such scarcity as would be brought about were an ice sheet continued in the summer to shut out the farmer from the fertile field he was anxious to cultivate; such a scarcity as was brought about in Lancashire when our blockade of the southern ports raised suddenly and enormously the price of the staple that English operatives were anxious to turn into cloth.

What answers to the ice sheet or the blockade? Need we ask? May it not be seen, from our greatest cities to our newest territories, in the speculation which has everywhere been driving up the price of land—that is to say, the toll that the active factor in all production must pay for permission to use the indispensable passive factor. Across the street from the city hall of Chicago, were 1,400 men, "the great majority Americans by birth and almost all of them voters," have been this winter sleeping in the stone corridors, stands the Chamber of Commerce building, thirteen stories high. This great building cost $800,000. The lot which it covers is worth over $1,000,000! A few blocks from where the New York *World* is to-day distributing free bread, land has been sold since the bread distribution began at the rate of over $12,000,000 an acre! As for the remotest outskirts, who has not heard of the mad rush for the Cherokee Strip.

there are any who do not see the relation of these facts, it is because they have become accustomed to think of labor as deriving employment from capital, instead of, which is the true and natural relation, capital being the product and tool of labor. The term "scarcity of employment," and its opposite, "scarcity of labor," come to us from a state of society in which the idea of labor employing itself directly on land had been forgotton. The primary suggestion of "scarcity of employment" is that the supply of labor for hire is in excess of the demand for its purchase. But the intervention of an employer by no means alters the relation between labor and land. As the price that labor must pay for land increases, the more difficult it becomes for laborers to employ themselves, and the less of the products of their labor can they retain; hence the larger the proportion of laborers forced to seek wages of an employer, and the lower the wages to which their competition with each other drives them. While, on the other hand, the demand for labor by employers—those at least who hire labor in order to sell its products—is determined in largest part by the demands of those who draw their purchasing power from what they get by their labor, since they are always and must be the great majority of any people. Thus the same increase in the price that labor must pay for land, which increases the supply of labor offered for hire, and decreases the wages it can ask, lessens also the demand of employers for such labor and the wages they can pay. So that, whether we begin at the right or the wrong end, any analysis brings us at last to the conclusion that the oppurtunities of finding employment and the rate of all wages depend ultimately upon the freedom of access to land; the price that labor must pay for its use.

"Scarcity of employment" is a comparatirely new complaint in the United States. In our earlier times it was never heard of or thought of. There was "scarcity of employment" in Europe, but on this side of the Atlantic the trouble

—so it was deemed by a certain class—was "scarcity of labor." It was because of this "scarcity of labor" that negroes were imported from Africa and indentured apprentices from the old country, that men who could not pay the passage sold there labor for a term of years to get here, and that that great stream of immigration from the old world that has done so much to settle this continent set in. Now, why was there "scarcity of employment" on one side of the Atlantic and "scarcity of labor" on the other? What was the cause of this difference, of which all other social and political differences were but consequences? Adam Smith saw it, and in his "Wealth of Nations" states it; but it did not need Adam Smith for that, as everyone who knew anything of the two countries knew it. It was, that in this country land was cheap and easy to get, while in Europe land was dear and hard to get. Land has been steadily growing dear in the United States, and as a consequence we hear no longer of "scarcity of labor." We hear now of "scarcity of employment."

In the first quarter of this century an educated and thoughtful Englishman, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, visited this country. He saw its great resources, and noted the difference between the English-speaking society growing up here and that to which he had been used. Viewing everything from the standpoint of a class accustomed to look on the rest of mankind as created for their benefit, what he deemed the great social and economic disadvantage of the United States was the "scarcity of labor." It was to this he traced the rudeness of even what he styled the upper class, its want of those refinements, enjoyments, and delicacies of life common to the aristocracy of England. How could an English gentleman emigrate to a country where labor was so dear that he might actually have to black his own boots; so dear that even the capitalist might have to work, and no one could count on a constant snpply ready to accept as a boon any opportunity to preform the most menial, degrading and repulsive services? Mr. Wakefield was not a man to note facts without seeking their connection. He saw that "scarcity of labor" came from the cheapness of land where the vast area of the public domain was open for settlement at nomial prices. A man of his class and time, without the slightest question that land was made to be owned by landlords, and laborers were made to furnish a supply of labor for the upper classes, he was yet a man of imagination. He saw the future before the English-speaking race in building up new nations in what were yet the waste spaces of the earth. But he wished those new nations to be socially, politically and economically newer Englands; not to be settled as the United States had been, from the "lower classes" alone, but to contain from the first a proper proportion of the "upper classes" as well. He saw that "scarcity of employment" would in time succeed "scarcity of labor" even in countries like the United States by the growth of speculation in land; but he did not want to wait for that in the newer Britains which his imagination pictured. He proposed at once to produce such salutary "scarcity of employment" in new colonies as would give cheap and abundant labor, by a governmental refusal to sell public land, save at a price so high as to prevent the poorer from getting land, thus compelling them to offer their labor for hire.

This was the essential part of what was once well known as the Wakefield plan of colonization. It is founded on a correct theory. In any country, however new and vast, it would be possible to change "scarcity of labor" into "scarcity of employment" by increasing the price put on the use of land. If three families settled a virgin continent, one family could command the services of the others as laborers for hire just as fully as though they were its chattel slaves, if it was accorded the ownership of the land and could put its own price on its use. Wakefield proposed only that land should be held at what he called "a

sufficient price"—that is, a price high enough to keep wages in new colonies only a little higher than wages in the mother-country, and to produce not actual inability to get employment on the part of laborers, but only such difficulty as would keep them tractable, and ready to accept what from his standpoint wero reasonable wages. Yet it is evident that it would only require a somewhat greater increase in the price of land to go beyond this point and to bring about in the midst of abundant natural oppurtunities for the employment of labor, the phenomena of laborers vainly seeking employment. Now, in the United States we have not attempted to create "scarcity of employment" by Wakefield's plan. But we have made haste by sale and gift to put the public domain in the hands of private owners, and thus allowed speculation to bring about more quickly and effectually than he could have anticipated, more than Wakefield aimed at. The public domain is now practically gone; land is raising to European prices, and we are at last face to face with social difficulties which in the youth of men of my time we were wont to associate with "the effete monarchies of the old world." To-day as the last census reports show, the majority of American farmers are rack-rented tenants, or hold under mortgage, the first form of tenancy; and the great majority of our people are landless men, without right to employ their own labor and without stake in the land they still foolishly speak of as *their* country. This is the reason why the army of the unemployed has appeared among us, why pauperism has already become chronic, and why in the tramp we have in more dangerous type the proletarian of ancient Rome.

These recurring spasms of business stagnation; these long-drawn periods of industrial depression, common to the civilized world, do not come from our treatment of money; are not caused and are not to be cured by changes of tariffs. Protection is a robbery of labor, and what is called free trade would give some temporary relief, but speculation in land would only set in the stronger, and at last labor and capital would again resist, by partial cessation, the blackmail demanded for their employment in production, and the same round would be run again. There is but one remedy, and that is what is now known as the single tax—the abolition of all taxes upon labor and capital, and of all taxes upon their processes and products, and the taking of economic rent, the unearned increment which now goes to the mere appropriator, for the payment of public expenses. Charity can merely demoralize and pauperize, while that indirect form of charity, the attempt to artificially "make work" by increasing public expenses and by charity woodyards and sewing-rooms, is still more dangerous. If, in this sense, work is to be made, it can be made more quickly by dynamite and kerosene.

But there is no need for charity; no need for "making work." All that is needed is to remove the restrictions that prevent the natural demand for the products of work from availing itself of the natural supply. Remove them to-day, and every unemployed man in the country could find for himself employment to-morrow, and his "effective demand" for the things he desires would infuse new life into every sub-division of business and industry, even that of the dentist, the preacher, the magazine writer or the actor.

The country is suffering from "scarcity of employment." But let anyone to-day attempt to employ his own labor or that of others, whether in making two blades of grass grow where one grew before, or in erecting a factory, and he will at once meet the speculator to demand of him an unnatural price for the land he must use, and the tax-gatherer to fine him for his act in employing labor as if he had committed a crime. The common-sense way to cure "scarcity of employment" is to take taxes off the products and processes of employment and to impose in their stead the tax that would end speculation in land.

But, it will be said, this is not quick enough. On the contrary, it is quicker than anything else. Even the public recognition of its need, by but a part of the intelligence and influence that is now devoted to charity appeals and schemes, would have such an effect upon the speculative price of land as to at once set labor and capital to work.

This is not "mere theory." It is theory to which all experience testifies. New Zealand is to-day the one country which enjoys anything like prosperity in the midst of a universal depression. While population is leaving New South Wales and Victoria, and in the search for cheap land, people are even emigrating to Paraguay. More than six thousand families have settled in New Zealand since the passage of the Ballance act, a partial application of the single tax principle.—Henry George in *North American Review.*

THE NEW ECONOMY.

To prefix the term new to anything implies that it differs from the old; what then is the distinctive feature of the new economy?

The moving force of any economy is human labor; it therefore follows that the kind of labor which sustains the activities of an economy will determine the nature of that economy. A manufacturing establishment is a localized economy. It may use human power, horse power, water, steam or electric power, or be run by a windmill, the nature of the power employed is the dominating factor always; and the first question of an intelligent stranger will be: "What power do you use?"

The economy of a nation is unalterably determined by the condition of its labor—whether it be slave or free—for there are but these two kinds of human labor; and any labor that is not free is slave in a greater or less degree.

What constitutes free labor? The natural answer to this question is, that voluntary labor is free while compulsory labor is slave. But all labor is compulsory; it is in its very nature the thing that we dislike to do.

The necessities of human existence compel labor. The child never leaves off playing in order that it may go to work. The southern blacks are free, but under the same compulsion to labor as when they were slaves.

The great compelling motive to labor is the desire to possess the products of labor. All but slaveholders are compelled to labor.

The object of the slaveholders always and everywhere is to get the product of other's labor; this desire is innate and perpetual in human nature; and it is the fact of gratifying this desire that constitutes any particular person a slaveholder; that the slave is remote and does not know his master is a mere matter of refinement. The length of the pipe does not matter so long as it brings us water from the fountain that we do not fill. Every child tries to enslave its parents, and too often with success. It is as natural to enslave somebody as it is to breath.

Slave labor is that which yields some of its product to another; free labor is that which gets the whole of its product.

Given two kinds of men in any community, the one intelligent and the other ignorant, and you have, economically considered, the strong and the weak; and the stronger never failed to enslave the weaker. The teaching of religion is: "Be kind to thy weaker brother." "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn."

Socialism has a nobler inspiration, which wins for it religious hate; it says: "Take of thy knowledge and give to thy weaker brother, so that he too shall become strong, and be ye no more masters and slaves, but brethren."

The old economy is the economy of slave labor, while the new economy is that of free labor; this is the fundamental difference between the two.

The old economy is the economy of the past, the new, that of the future; the present is the time of stress and struggle, for men are trying to cast off the old, and to put on the new.—E. M. Burchard in *Twentieth Century.*

LEGAL ENFORCEMENT OF CONTRACTS.

Some reflections on the above subject are here presented, not to provoke personal controversy, but for candid consideration. Under legal enforcement of usurious contracts it is quite true that "money has a tendency to concentrate in few hands." Without such laws it is equally clear to me that the economic tendency would be to disperse, as well as concentrate, the money of commerce, whether contracted or expanded in volume. It should be equally clear, that the only rational method of counteracting the tendency to concentrate wealth prejudicially, is to abolish such laws.

Facility for exchanging commodities does not largely depend on plenty or scarcity of money. It is probably that in the absence of legal money exchanges would be more readily effected than now. There is no legal money in international trade. Gold is estimated as bullion, not by the stamp at all; yet it is deemed necessary to make tariff and excise laws to prevent overtrading.

It is the incurring and discharging of debts alone which makes contraction and expansion of the currency disastrous. Loans of money or of goods are not completed exchanges. Credit is often a mere charity, and as often promotes idleness or reckless speculation as industry. It is a law-sanctioned vice. Usury is its inevitable sequence, is the penalty for deferred payment, compounded in advance by the creditor at a stipulated rate, to the detriment of the public weal and public morals. Why should the creditor be protected in this business, and the debtor be treated as a felon?

To enforce contracts of this nature promotes the concentration of wealth in few hands and the exploitation of the industries. Without this law-created power the usurer could not collect his "tribute from the producer," the landlord involuntary rent from the tenant, nor the speculator profit from his burden bearer.

Usurious contracts are usually (not occasionally) made under duress. Threats of eviction, loss of home, business, and opportunity to work are quite as effective to compel consent, and safer for the robber than revolvers. Usury and bankruptcy are the inseparable sequences of credit under laws for the enforcement of contracts, because such laws encourage idle and vicious and gambling bargains, and have little effect in preventing purposed defalcations.

It might be interesting to inquire what would occur should interest on money, by any device, be reduced to zero, under existing laws. Such money could buy no land or productive property of any kind. Nothing yielding increase would be exchanged for money yielding no increase. This subject is greatly misconceived by both the usury and the anti-usury advocate. The source of usury is not long or short money. It is the ability of labor to procure more things, which are objects of human desire, than it consumes; and it exists, whether there are landlords, usurers and profit mongers to capture it from the worker or not. Laws for the forcible collection of rent, interest and speculative profits simply confer a privilege to a class to take the increase of labor's production, which would otherwise remain in the possession of the producer. To repeal these laws should seem to be a sensible method of correcting this universally acknowledged evil. Our great monopolies of land, money and trade are powerful for evil, only because they have a government of force behind them to compel payment. To abolish the law for the collection of rent would set free the use of land and render the landlord useful; of interest would set free the use of money and make the banker helpful; of speculative profit would set trade free and add the speculator to the producing class.

Thus the sharing of the economic increase would become a matter of equity instead of spoliation. Now it is subject to the law of force, than to the economic law. The collection of strictly business

debts would be a matter of secondary importance, treated as a civil or as a criminal issue. Few debts are now incurred except under duress, from conditions created by the enforcement of the legal fictions which give sanction to the claim of landlord, usurer and profit hunter. The making and renewing of contracts are thus compelled, and extra usurious rates on bonuses are accepted to escape the consequences of previously existing vicious bargainings.

Strictly business debts are in comparatively small amounts, and are of temporary and fluctuating operation, as often on one side of the business ledger as the other, *the debt falling nominally where the increased wealth is held*, so equalizing its distribution. The distribution by force tends ever one way, to gather as tribute, the productive increase from those who produce, to those who capture it. Our debts for which we have received nothing absorb more annual interest than our import on foreign productions yield, and probably more than our entire exports.

Would it not be more wise to abolish these force laws than to invent or multiply tools which can be made more effective still for accumulation?—I. K. Ingalls in the *Twentieth Century*.

PROFIT-SHARING.

An Open Letter to Employers and Employes:

In anticipation of a revival of business and the consequent reopening of many mills and factories, which now seems probable, we should invite your attention to the importance of introducing some form of profit-sharing as a feature of your industrial relationships. The method of paying a dividend to the workman out of profits as they are realized annually has been approved by most of the economists of Europe and America as thoroughly practical, and advantageous to both the employer and the employed. We will mention a few characteristics which should commend it to your careful attention.

Profit-sharing can be adopted by an employer without risk of loss, inasmuch as he assumes under it no obligations except such as are to be discharged from profits actually made. His prerogatives as manager and his rights as proprietor are not curtailed. Profit-sharing would establish a more friendly relationship of common interest between working people and the employer. This would be the surest pledge of industrial peace and the firmest support in times of commercial distress.

The employe, responding to such an advance by the employer, can increase the quantity and improve the quality of the product under a deeper feeling of personal interest. By his diligence, care and economy he can actually create an additional profit, which is to be used in supplementing regular wages. Profit-sharing includes the payment of the best wages current, and promises a bonus beyond this, which, experience shows, the interested workman can invariably produce in good times.

Profit-sharing, as a principle, may be applied in a large variety of ways; and it can readily be adapted to the great majority of productive and distributive enterprises. We invite applications for full information concerning the history and the results of the system, as it is now in operation in many establishments, small and large, in Europe and the United States. The address of the secretary of our association is No. 25 Beacon street, Boston, Mass.

For the Association for the Promotion of Profit-sharing:

Carroll D. Wright, Washington, president; Francis A. Walker, Boston, N. O. Nelson, St Louis, vice presidents; N. P. Gilman, Boston, secretary; R. Fulton Cutting, New York, Alfred Dodge, New York, R. R. Bowker, New York, Henry R. Towne, Stamford, Conn., George A. Chace, Fall River, Mass., directors.—*American Machinist.*

From the way Christian professors clutch the almighty dollar, it would appear that their teachers preach grasp-all instead of the gospel.

CONFISCATION.

As Christianity, which at its inception brought in a higher morality, was charged by that grossly libertine age with the very crimes that disgraced itself and that Christianity aimed at dissipating; as our revolutionary fathers, whose aspirations tended to a higher grade of civilization, were charged by the American and European Tories with rowdyism; as the Abolitionists, who would not compromise with chattel slavery and denounced that institution as unrighteous, were themselves denounced as ungodly by the slave-holders —so likewise is the charge of "confiscation" hurled by the present robber classes at the Socialist movement, whose leading object is to put confiscation down.

The capitalist system is the system of organized and legalized plunder and confiscation. The fact cannot escape the observer, who watches the wonderful phenomenon of millions of industrious workers, out of whose hands billions upon billions of wealth proceed, but who remain eternally poor while a paltry few, who do no manner of work whatever, are found in possession of all that wealth. Whatever technical name may be given to the process by which this phenomenon is accomplished, in the vernacular it is known as "confiscation."

Nevertheless, it is not in the doing of the deed of confiscating the property of the working class that capitalist confiscation appears most glaringly. To detect it there, one has to look below the surface. The confiscating feature of capitalism strikes the eye strongest when the deed is done by capitalists against capitalists; there it appears in such clumsy bulkiness that it cannot escape detection even by the blindest. Of this fact recent events have furnished a striking illustration.

The Lake Superior iron mines belonged until the other day almost exclusively to the Merritt brothers. The crisis came on; the Merritts did not have capital enough to operate their big concern and were driven to put part of their stock upon the market; the financial condition grew worse and worse and the final result was that John D. Rockefeller came into possession of the bulk of that valuable property, buying it in at a ridiculously low figure. For about nine millions he became the owner of three or four times that much. Like a spider in his net, he watched his chances; by little and little the Merritts got entangled in his web until finally he could and did dictate terms—confiscate the property of another capitalist concern, another set of plunderers, less powerful than himself.

The process of capitalist confiscation goes on day by day, but at times of crises it goes on with accelerated speed and covers larger areas. In ordinary times confiscation is practiced upon the working class mainly; with now and then a member of the middle class joining the victims; during a crisis, however, the whole community is victimized. The workers are squeezed harder; the middle class is expropriated by the shoals, and even the capitalist class furnishes flies to be sucked dry.

Confiscation, more or less brutal, more or less "refined," has been a more or less leading feature of all the social systems that have come up since production has been carried on for sale or exchange. The capitalist system of production has carried on the principle of production for sale to its extreme logical conclusion, and, accordingly, it is under the capitalist system that confiscation has blossomed forth into its most gigantic proportions.

Confiscation cannot be uprooted except by that higher civilization which the Co-operative Commonwealth alone can introduce.—*The People.*

How carefully humanity nurses the bones of its dead, until, in the generations that follow, the family tie being forgotten, they are ruthlessly cast aside to make room for more immediate relatives, or collected as curious relics of bygone races.

THE CALDWELL DECISION.

One of our railroad contemporaries has, it seems, gone into the business of criticising the decision of the United States courts and does it too in what must be considered a very unjudicial manner, to say the least. By this contemporary (*The Railroad Gazette*) Judge Caldwell is put down as on "extraordinary judge," as making "most undignified remarks," and "the shallowness of his reasoning" is spoken of apparently for no other reason than that he had proven himself able to recognize that the Union Pacific employes had rights under their contract with the officials.

The *Gazette* says with much show of indignation that "the existing wage rate are held [by Judge Caldwell] to be fair and just, because they have been in force a long time—most of them eight years.

The language of the decision, as actually printed elsewhere in our contemporary's columns, will bear no such construction, and would, we think, not be understood in that way except by one utterly blinded by prejudice. All it does say is, in effect, that the terms of the agreement must be observed.

We quote below some of the most striking passages of the decision, and while we think no fair-minded person can take exception to them, it is, of course, easy to see why the decision is so pleasing to the employes:

"Two of the ablest managers, S. H. H. Clark and Edward Dickinson, testify that these labor organizations on this system had improved the morals and efficiency of the men, and had rendered valuable aid to the company in perfecting and putting into force the rules and regulations. * * Among the regulations was one to the effect that no change should be made in the rules and regulations, and the rate of wages, without first giving to the labor organizations thirty days' notice, or other reasonable notice.

"When a road comes under the management of a court in which the employes are conceded to be experienced and capable, the court will not, upon light and trivial grounds, dispense with their services or reduce their wages. And when the schedule of wages in force at the time the court assumes the management of the road is the result of a mutual agreement between the company and the employes which has been in force for years, the court will presume the schedule is reasonable and just, and anyone disputing that presumption will be required to overthrow it by satisfactory proof. This the court contends has not been done by the receivers, although they had all recommended that a cut be made. It is the court's belief that the receivers made the request ignorantly, as only one of them is a practical railroad man, and their opinions upon the wage schedules are confessedly of little value. The court shares in their anxiety to have an economical administration of this trust to the end that those that own the property and have liens upon it may get out of it what is fairly their due. But to accomplish this desirable result the wages of the men must not be reduced below a reasonable and just compensation for their services. They must be paid fair wages, though no dividends are paid on the stock and no interests paid on the bonds.

"It is a part of the public history of the country, of which the courts will take judicial notice, that for the first $36,000,000 of stock issued this company received less than two cents on the dollar, and the profit of construction represented by outstanding bonds was $43,929,328. There would seem to be no equity in reducing the wages of employes below what is reasonable and just in order to pay dividends on stock and interests on bonds of this character."

To a paper the policy of which is to always assume that railroad officials are right and the other employes wrong in any difference which may rise between them, such language from a United States judge is, of course, nothing less than high treason, but most other people

will, we think, fail to find much in it that is not right and sound.

And while we are about it, we may as well say that the enacting and upholding of laws in this country depends mainly upon just the class of men who do the work on the Union Pacific system, and that it is good policy, saying nothing of equity, to show such men that there is some law on their side, and that when the law plainly is on their side they will get the benefit of it. A thorough conviction of this may save a great deal of trouble for all concerned—even for receivers and editors of high and mighty railroad papers.—*American Machinist.*

A REMARKABLE STATEMENT.

A foreman in one of the Lake Erie shops has always been able to get considerably greater results in the way of work accomplished by his men than any other boss in the place with a like number of men, says the *Pittsburg Dispatch.* The difference in the amount of work turned out was so great that it caused one of the other bosses to investigate the cause. This inquisitive man knew that he was doing all in his power to keep his men at their machines, and even went so far as to keep continually trying to hurry them up. But despite his efforts his fellow-foreman always outdid him. Finally, when his attempts to discover the cause had failed, he went to the successful foreman and asked how he obtained such an extraordinary output. The man turned to him and said: "I haven't studied hypnotism for five years for nothing. I have all my men hypnotized, so that their strength is almost doubled. Do you see that fellow carrying that rod of iron? Well, watch me make him drop it." The foreman had no sooner spoken the words than the workman dropped the iron as if it were red hot, and then stood there as if transfixed or dazed. Continuing the foreman said: "I have all of these men under my control and they all know it. I have only to threaten them when anything goes wrong and you can be assured things soon right themselves. As I said, there is a great advantrge in keeping the men under hypnotic power. I never permit them to tire, but always make them labor under the impression that they are modern Samsons. It is peculiar what a great increase in strength can be given a man by hypnotizing him. I have taken a man who was naturally weak and sickly and, after putting him under hypnotic influence, he turned upon a muscular, well-built man and completely overpowered him by sheer brute force. So you can appreciats how I value my hypnotic power. The record of my output will show that there is, at least, one advantage in being a hypnotist. Then, we frequently have accidents about the shops. It is not necessary to go for a doctor, for I can stop bleeding and ease or banish pain by simply hypnotizing the portion of the body injured. Now, to-day I had an accident at the plane over there, which took off a portion of this first finger. It started to pain me frightfully, but I merely auto-hypnotized the member and it has not pained me since." The foreman who was less gifted with psychic powers looked on in amazement at the hypnotist's recital, and, with a "Well, I never," went back to his work with a sigh.

The Socialists and workingmen's deputies forced the French ministry to resign on Tuesday last. The government has recently been attempting to crush the power of the workingmen's exchange, which it has feared for some time. The methods adopted were unpopular and defeat resulted. A miners' eight-hour bill was introduced and the premier opposed it. A vote was forced by the premier, who demanded the order of the day, and he was defeated, the result being 225 to 265. President Carnot is now trying to form a new ministry. Picture to yourselves the time when the workingmen and Socialists of this country will be able to force the cabinet of a president to resign. We are not made that way. We are not yet our own masters. We refuse to support our friends. Our professional politicians force us to vote for whom they choose to nominate. We are still content to serve our masters. Though they continue to rob us and starve us, we love them still. The French are not so tractable and refuse to longer kiss the hand that smites them. When will the free American people learn to be equally independent and self-reliant?—*The Commoner.*

AN OLD ROAD NOW.

To-day (May 10) is being celebrated the quarter centennial of the completion of the Union Pacific railroads. It is just twenty-five years ago since the projectors of that stupendous work which has forever linked the Atlantic and Pacific with bands of steel, witnessed its successful termination and beheld a practical transformation in the geography of the country.

New York and San Francisco were picked up from their former position of weeks apart and set down within a few days' distance of each other; millions of acres of rolling prairie, the undisputed home of the Indian and the buffalo, were placed invitingly at the very feet of the civilized husbandman; the untold wealth of the nation's ore field's was placed at the mercy of the miner's muscle and the myriad mysteries of that but little known country between the mad Missouri and the Golden Gate became an open book.

Thirty years ago last December the first spadeful of earth was moved on the Missouri bottom, within the old city limits of Omaha, and formally inaugurated this unprecedented work. After the location of the road had been determined in favor of Omaha, that city naturally experienced something of a boom and grew rapidly under the stimulus of the enterprise. Active building operations were begun in the early spring of 1861. The time of completion was fixed at 1876 and the land grant amounted to 12,000,000 acres or 19,000 square miles, in alternate sections, within a breadth of twenty miles on each side of the road and along its entire length. The surveyors frequently had narrow escapes from the Indians, who, among other capers, once carried off thirty miles of telegraph wire. The buffalo at that time were so thick that they frequently had to be driven away to allow the passage of the ox freight trains that were then crossing the plains. One of the amusing incidents of the work was the employment of a lot of Indian squaws as graders, but the experiment soon proved a failure.

The most difficult part of the whole survey was in Utah and Brigham Young rendered great assistance. In the spring of 1865, when the road was completed about thirty miles out, a large body of Indians were invited to see a moving train and they assembled with their families along the track. When the train came along the engineer blew his whistle long and loud and let off steam, causing a terrible racket, frightening the Indians, who turned and fled in great terror. After becoming accustomed to the engine, however, they frequently amused themselves by racing with the trains on their ponies.

It is impossible to present the difficult and disheartening circumstances that confronted the men who invested their money, and, in some instances, risked their lives in this enterprise, yet it cannot be denied that the pushing of the Union Pacific railroad for over 2,000 miles over trackless plains and over the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevadas seems more like a romance than a reality, and no one can read the history of the first through transcontinental railway without admiring the pluck and indomitable energy of the builders of the great national highway, and the progressive spirit of the nation that made that success possible.

They had completed 260 miles during 1866, 240 miles in 1867, and a total of 555 miles from the first of January, 1863, to May 10, 1869, when the road was completed and connection made with the Central Pacific. In the construction of the Union Pacific there were used 300,000 tons of rails, 1,700,000 fish-plates, 6,800,000 bolts, 6,126,375 ties and 23,505,500 spikes.

The subsequent growth of the Union Pacific, by extension and acquirement, was no less wonderful than the building of its initial piece of road, becoming within two decades the largest railway system in the world, embracing 8,000 miles of road and over 1,000 miles of water lines, exceeding 9,000 miles in all.

Before the recent segregation of a part of the system by the courts, this system furnished employment to 23,415 persons, the pay-roll amounting to over $1,600,000 annually. It required 1,028 engines, 768 passenger cars, 25,593 freight cars and considerable other equipment to handle its business, in doing which its passenger trains ran 3,800,000 miles and its freight trains 6,600,000 miles in a year. All of this vast field is controlled from Omaha, all of the branches reporting to the headquarters here with the exception of less than 500 miles of the Central branch that is leased to the Missouri Pacific, the entire management being directed from the general offices on the very site where the excursion party of easterners in the midway city of the continent before going westward to inspect the first 300 miles of the Union Pacific that were open for travel.—*Denver Times.*

Those who advocate government ownership and control of railroads, telegraphs, canals, mines, etc., are too often condemned as wild theorists; but in the light of investigation it will be seen that the principle involved in the proposed reform is supported by a long line of very successful precedents. The Erie canal, built, owned and operated by the state of New York, furnishes a shining illustration of what may be accomplished by government direction of industry. It required eight years of time, and an expenditure of $51,000,000 to construct the canal, which is 365 miles long, has a rise and fall, over hill and dale, river and swamp, of 656 feet, making necessary seventy-two locks. From the date of its completion, 1825, to 1880, it required almost $27,000,000 more to enlarge, repair and maintain it, making the total cost at that time $78,000,000. During that time, however, the income from the canal in tolls was $118,000,000—a net profit to the state of over $40,000,000. Aside from this great profit the canal was of incalculable benefit to the state. The tolls were kept so low that it served as a cheap outlet for the great crops of the north and west. This is evidenced by the fact that it brought to New York *over 2,000,000* bushels more export grain in one year than the total amount received at Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore. It also served as a powerful factor in keeping local and through freight rates within the easy reach of commerce. Unlike railroad stock owners, the people of New York were satisfied, and in 1882 they amended the constitution—this was made necessary by railroad manipulation of the supreme court—and opened the canal up as a free waterway. Tolls were abolished, and from that day to this everybody has been at liberty to sail up and down the canal, same as the Hudson river, for pleasure or for profit. This is a sample of the government ownership and control of natural monopolies. —*Patterson Machinist.*

New Zealand is about the size of Colorado. She has, perhaps, one-third more inhabitants. Her population is 700,000. Of these only 50,000 are the native New Zealanders. Being a new country the Englishmen who have settled there can introduce govermental and sociological experiments which would be impossible at home. They have the Australian ballot, woman suffrage and the Torrens land transfer system, besides many other new features of government. They not only have a government postoffice, as we have, but the government also owns the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone, the schools and a number of other things. In short, New Zealand is the foremost example on the face of the earth of the advancing doctrine of state socialism. Philosophers contend for individualism as opposed to state socialism. Some able thinkers, however, favor the latter as the only alternative of coming anarchy. There must be, they say, some way to enable the masses to reach the abnormal accumulations of wealth, which will avoid bloodshed and the dissolution of society. The existing rights of property, carried to their logical extreme, must end, it is strongly argued, in the ultimate ownership by a very few of all the property of the world. If this accumulation in the hands of a constantly narrowing number of people must go on under the conditions of existing civilization, it is urged that the evil can only be counteracted by the growth of state socialism. State socialism is practically illustrated among us in our public school system and our government postoffice. There is nothing in state socialism to alarm any conservative person. The tendency of the times seems to be in that direction. If the progress is not too rapid no harm is likely to result.—Denver *Times.*

You tell me there would be no liberty if men are not permitted to accumulate private wealth which they cannot use and will not permit others to use? Perhaps not. There are many liberties I think should be curtailed just behind the ears. No one should be permitted to injure another, to adulterate food, make shoddy clothing or remain ignorant of well established facts, so they become an easy prey to scheming politicians. Lots of liberty you have now with rags on your back, little in your stomach, and not much in your head, wondering what will become of you and your family in the future. O, you are so wondrously free that to deny you the right to gather in millions would be really a sin! You would become a veritable slave if the nation owned the railroads and reduced the tariff and employed more men at better wages! You could not be a freeman if you became a part owner in all the lands, machinery and goods of the nation, instead of the ragged, anxious seeker after an odd job that you now are! Nothing but private property (of which you possess none and can possess any) will make your life worth living. That is what the rich tell you. The kings said the same thing to our forefathers about their divine rights, and are saying the same thing to the great majority of mankind to-day, and they believe the lie just as you do about the phantom of private property. When the nation owns the property it will be held in trust for all people and no one can squander his heritage, and beggar himself and family. He will always have the freedom to labor and receive the full pay without deduction—that he can spend as he likes, but he cannot spend his privilege in the land and machinery of the nation and be forced to become a tramp. The farm or workshop will always be his to work with, but not to squander. And that would be slavery, indeed! And the 3,000,000 tramps and the 9,000,000 mortgaged men are free! What a glorious slavery the former, what a hellish liberty the latter.—*Coming Nation.*

LITERARY NOTES.

Cabinet photographs of Judge H. C. Caldwell, can be had by sending twenty-five cents to J. E. Edwards, 1621 Corby street, Omaha, Neb.

WATCHES FOR RAILROAD MEN.—We beg to call our readers' attention to the large advertisement of Moore & Evans, beginning with this issue. This firm advertises a good watch at a price that comes within the reach of all railroad employes, and guarantees that same will pass railroad inspection. We cannot vouch for the goods, but we feel we can for Moore & Evans, as their rating is high, and are reputed to us to be straight-forward, honorable business men. They make a safe proposition to send goods by express subject to examination, and we believe our readers will do well to investigate their claims, if in need of a good, yet low-priced watch.

"The Wage-worker's Remedy" is the title of a book that has just been added to our economic literature. The author, Morgan E. Dowling, of Detroit, has succeeded in making a very readable book, but we fail to find any remedy. He advocates the many paliatives that have been offered for many years, but goes no further. He leaves the "wage-earner" yet a factor in society to struggle against the power of the wage-master. His remedy is simply to restrain the wage-master. Why not do away with him entirely? The author says the remedy is two-fold—first, the supply of labor must be diminished, and, second, the demand for labor must be increased. There has been times when every man could find employment. Did the laborer any more than exist then? Such was true of the chattel slavery, and from a physical standpoint, chattel slavery was far preferable to wage slavery. Reductions of the hours of labor, prevention of immigration, prohibition of child labor and marriages under the age of twenty-one, are only lotions applied to a disease. They are in no sense of the word a remedy. A true remedy will leave no man working for the wages of another. However, the book is well worth reading, and may be obtained by sending $1 to Morgan E. Dowling, room 24 Woffuik block, Detroit, Mich.

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Let there be every effort made to unite labor. Unity is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the best interests of all.

Make it a duty to attend every meeting of your labor organization. It is association that gives organization its power. Have some thought to advance for the consideration of others. A silent power is thus set at work.

Plutocracy made one of its greatest mistakes in its revengeful punishment of the leaders of the Coxey movement at Washington. It seems to measure the tendency of the times as the aristocracy of France died in the last century.

Organized labor on the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia railroad, following the course pursued by the Union Pacific employes, has applied to the courts for an injunction restraining the receivrs of the road from reducing wages.

General Master Workman Sovereign's trip over the district is doing great good. He is making friends for himself and the order wherever he has spoken and is doing much to break down the animosities that have existed between classes of labor. Already there are inquiries made for organizers to come and institute new assemblies.

Let there be a free and open discussion of every question that pertains to humanity. It is the way truth can be discovered. Every person that differs with us is not dishonest. They may be in the right and we wrong. The person who is ever condemning those who do not agree with him is the one that should be watched the closest.

I honor the man who is willing to sink
Half his present repute for the freedom to think,
And when he has thought, be his cause strong or weak,
Will sink to'ther half for the freedom to speak—
Caring naught for what vengeance the mob has in store,
Be that mob the upper ten thousand or lower.
—*Lowell.*

THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE UNITED STATES COURTS.

Judge Caldwell ordered all the records and testimony at the hearing of the now-celebrated case of the Union Pacific Employes vs. Receivers printed. It makes a book of about 800 pages. The record of this case will be more valuable as time passes, and the principles on which the case was decided are better understood and practiced. It will be a precedent that will be understoad and followed. Arrangements have been made to furnish this book, bound in cloth, delivered, for $1, which is the actual cost of pridting and deliverihg extra copies. Send $1 to this office and the book will be mailed to anyone. Orders should be sent in at once, as the number of extra copies printed is limited, and there is a prospect of a large demand for them. Every bondrorganization of railroad employes at least should have one on file for future reference.

The United States government will keep "slopping" the hogs of fiendish greed until they have completely ravaged the substance of the people; then—well the devil will be to pay with plenty of pitch hot.

In the great charity work that is going on, it is constantly reiterated that only the deserving poor shall be given work or food. Then why not say that only the deserving rich shall be permitted to gain wealth?

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

KANSAS CITY, MO., May 20, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

As I have not written anything for THE MAGAZINE for about six months, I thought I would try my hand once more. At that time I was listening to the complaints of the farmers in the agricultural and distinctly rural districts in the northern part of this state. Since then I have been been eking out an existence amidst the clamor and turmoil of this busy city. It is not such a busy city as it was a few years ago, but it is still busy, in more ways than one. Those who are employed are kept as busy as ever trying to hold their positions; and those who are unemployed are busy in the almost hopeless endeavor to get employment.

Three months ago there were from three hundred and fifty to four hundred men sleeping every night on the cement floor of our city hall. When the warm weather came they were turned out to hustle. They have drifted in all directions, into jail, into Coxey's army, and everywhere, but I believe that a very few of them have found work. They are a part of the detested floating population, the reserve supply of labor, which it is so handy for capitalists to utilize in case of need at prices of their own making. The so-called restless and discontented class of this country is becoming larger all the time. Some people say that this class is but a ripple in the stream compared to the whole people. Beware of the ripples for they indicate a troubled current. Men of my acquaintance, who, a few years ago, were getting a salary of about $5 a day, imagined they were fixed for life, and were really a part of the aristocracy itself, but today they find themselves out of employment, out of money, snubbed by the moneyed men and distrusted by the common working man. The kind of men I refer to are those who were "in the swim," had "snap" positions, did not care to mingle with workingmen and could see no reason why workingmen should mingle with each other. They could see no use of men organizing, agitating or anything of the kind. Now they are beginning to talk a little different, since the things that the Knights of Labor have taught for years have become so plain that a blind man can see it with his cane. These are the men we are after. Get them to thinking, now that they have nothing else to do. Men who never knew the want of a dollar or the true value of a square meal before, are now learning the lesson of their lives. They must get together and do it *quickly*, for the country's good, that reason may rule, lest it be too late.

I am glad to see that our order is improving wonderfully all over the country. Extra efforts are being made at this point. Coxeyism is the talk of the day and the cause of many arguments. Even if Coxey and all he advocates is wrong, even if it is a hardship and a foolhardy adventure for his followers, and amounts to nothing more than has already come to pass, still, I think it is a good thing if it simply shows to those who *will* not see, the amount of grief and discontent, that is prevalent among so many of the people of this country. If it does anything toward expanding the views of any part of the people who may be in a position where they are not liable to have any thoughts in common with the people, is it not a good thing?

There is a move on foot here to establish a "Coxey home reserve" to lend moral support to the movement. The press is endeavoring to squelch it by long columns of misrepresentations in which the reporters have drawn largely on their imaginations. But the people are like Banquo's ghost and "will not down."

Men of the Union Pacific system, you may well be proud of your organizations, which brought you successfully through your famous contest in the courts. Hoping you will not lose your grip, but will be more vigilant than ever, I am, fraternally yours, ROTARY.

ARMSTRONG, KAN., May 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The weather for the past month has been changeable. In the vernacular phrase, the farmer calls it a late spring. On the first of May, Joe Gadd, the timekeeper here and for the last twenty-three years employed by the company as such at this point, was reduced to a master car builder clerk. His salary was reduced accordingly. John Shaw, the general foreman clerk, succeeds him. He is a young man of good promise, and is well liked by all the men. Mr. Gadd was an accurate timekeeper and an honest man. He served the company and men alike. But it seems his fidelity to

the company's interest was not appreciated by that corporation.

The different departments of the shops here are full of work. In the past month the company has built an excavator of formidable dimensions to clear the cuts on the road of accumulated matter which falls from the sides of cliffs. It is then run into an open space on the road. It has a large scoop-shovel on each side of the car one and one-half yards capacity each. These two shovels are worked by a stationary engine. A locomotive is employed to run these three yards of dirt from where it is excavated to where it is dumped. It is conceded by a good many of the men that the enterprise will be operated at a loss to the company, as the capacity of the machine is small and the expense of operating it will be high.

In the past month the company has made a record for itself in the way of renovating and cleaning up the interior of the several departments of the shops. Too much praise cannot be given to the master mechanic, Mr. Mertzheimer, and his coadjutor, Mr. Joe Roberts, for their indefatigable and untiring efforts in that direction. Under their supervision all the interior of the several departments of the shops was whitewashed by a machine run by compressed air. Two jets of whitewash are constantly thrown against the sides and roofs of the shops with great force, forcing the limy juice into interstices and cracks in the wood which men with brushes could not accomplish. Some men claim that it does more work in a given time than twelve men can do. I am of the same opinion, barring out the dirty trail it leaves in its wake through the shops.

At this writing one of the last two new engines is nearly completed, under the supervision of James Roberts. He is now a Benedict. Five of the ten new freight cars are finished.

The steam hammers in the blacksmith shop have been repaired and from the looks of things all around the company is doing good service in the way of improvements.

We are still working forty-eight hours a week, with pay day on the 16th of each month.

The wheel lathes worked nights for the last six weeks ten hours per night, single time. Night work ceased this week.

No employing or discharging of men, as every man sticks pretty close to his job.

Times are dull here and work abnormally scarce.

The Fort Scott and Gulf company is still working their men forty hours a week in the shops, Missouri Pacific, fifty hours a week. The Santa Fe Company has cut their shop men down to forty hours a week and discharged 300 men at Topeka, Kan., yesterday.

Packing houses, mercantile plants and contract shops are working short hours with reduced forces.

The frosts of the past week have injured the crops here materially.

This seems to be an off year in more ways than one. The country is infested with a bribed congress, a sportive president, with an idle crowd of men traveling through the country without any visible means of support.

AU BOUT DE SON.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., May 17, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

A few lines from an old subscriber from its first issue might be of interest to many readers of THE MAGAZINE.

I had the pleasure of seeing Coxey's army march through this city toward Washington, D. C., looking tired out.

The electric car men are about to have their wages reduced and they think they will get organized into a union. That puts me in mind of the old saying: "Lock the stable door after the horse is stolen."

The printers of New York are going to advocate what the Knights of Labor has been teaching for the last six years, and that is for the government to control the telegraph system. They are getting petitions signed. I hope they will succeed.

I am sorry to report that there are twenty-five men to one job in this enterprising city of 150,000 inhabitants. The laboring class is composed of Italians and Portuguese. They will work for ninety cents per day, and the prospects are looking very poor for the laboring class in the future in the large cities, unless there are a few more fires such as Rev. Mr. Talmage's tabernacle, the Regent hotel, with its 300 rooms, en suite, and its $25,000 in furniture, the big fire in Boston a few days ago, burning 170 houses, another large fire at Pawtucket, about four miles from here, which covered thirty acres of land, mostly coal, lumber and shipping yards. This loss was about $500,000. Of course, all this will have to be built up again.

Before I close this letter I will say that the sentiment of the people here in the east is that it was nothing but right and just that the employes of the Union Pacific railroad should have their wages restored, and not grind poor humanity in the dust. I think great credit is due to Judge Riner and Judge Caldwell, in

giving their decision in favor of the employes.

You will hear from me again. Yours fraternally, T. E. M.

LARAMIE, Wyo., May 29, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Things are going along about as usual in Laramie shops. Fishermen are getting their tackle ready to commence capturing the trout by June 1.

Gold hunters are getting more plentiful since some are meeting with good success, and the indications are that a mining camp will soon be flourishing a la Cripple Creek, soon, about a day's drive from our city.

Something is needed to stir the people up and give them something to occupy their minds and exercise their muscle, as we are not safe in banking much on agricultural lines. Although the production of food is the first and most important industry, no other occupation can be followed until the food producers have a surplus to exchange for other products, and the price the food producers receive for their product, measures the value of nearly all other products. Our mining ihdustry practically demonstrates that all labor is not wealth. Men have been known to shovel tons of dirt and handle hundreds of tons of rock without producing one dollar's worth of value. Who knows if our miners would discover gold in abundance whether our great statesmen would not legislate against the yellow metal also, for fear of getting too much money.

The People's Party Club meets regularly every Friday evening and considerable interest is manifested at the meetings. People are beginning to feel that something is wrong with our governmental machinery. Many from both old parties are once more falling in line with the Populists.

I was reading an account of the amount of labor displaced by machinery, and the paper wound up the article by asking the question: "What sight can be more pathetic than to see an old and decrepit man trying to compete with vigorous manhood for a living for himself and family." There is something more pathetic in my mind than this. It is to see that same old and decrepit man going to the polls and vote the same ticket he has been voting the last fifty years.

Whitewash, paint and the annual cleaning up gives the shops, round-house and surroundings a different appearance.

Work in shops is about the same and done with the usual force. Engines in for repairs at present are 1,803, 956, 1,257 for general repairs. Quite a number are receiving repairs and new coat of paint in round house.

Grand preparations are being made for Decoration day. All are hoping or praying that the day may be pleasant. So far the weather has been more favorable than usual. Everything is looking finer than I have seen it for a number of years. LXXXII.

DENVER, Colo., May 27, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Everything has moved along in its usual course about the shops at this point. The company seems to find needed work to be done.

General business at Denver does not indicate any improvement.

The commonweal army that has been gathering here is assuming large propartions and it will soon bring a serious question how these men are to be fed, and ought to bring to the mind of everyone the fact that when such large masses cannot find employment there must be something radically wrong.

Another opportunity will present itself to the masses this fall to show how deep they have been considering causes and effects. A new congress is to be elected, and if the masses make no improvement over the present one. when the power lays fully in their hands, it seems as if it should stop them from complaining.

Local Assembly 3218 gave its annual entertainment on the evening of the 25th, and it proved in every way a success. The delegates to the national convention of the Order of Railway Telegraphers in session here came in a body and a number of them made short addresses. The principal address was made by T. Fulton Gantt, of North Platte, Neb., so well known to Union Pacific employes. After the speeches came dancing.

Snowy Range Lodge No. 30, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, will give their annual picnic July 1 at Military park. The trainmen will assure a pleasant time to all who attend.

The Colorado Labor Congress will assemble at Denver July 3. The success of last year's congress in better uniting the working classes on common ground should make the session of this year more thoroughly representative and the accomplishment of some practical work.

The trouble at Cripple Creek is causing much discussion of social questions. The general sympathy of the public is with the miners, the only question being

when will this state of affairs end. The miners are armed and fortified and in position to make a long, hard fight.

Steps have been taken to have a grand state celebration July 4 at Denver by those who are supporters of the principles of the Omaha platform, which are in accord with the principles promulgated July 4, 1776.

Organization and a uniting of the labor forces ought to be now the uppermost thought and there should be no time for quibbling over details.

General Master Workman Sovereign made us a visit the past month and his audiences numbered thousands. He spoke on Saturday evening to labor in the Trades Assembly hall. Sunday afternoon to an outdoor mass meeting of commonwealers, and Sunday night to 3,000 people at the Coliseum. Only words of praise were heard for his efforts from all sides. XXX.

The wealthy robbers of industry are getting somewhat exercised in the interest of the unemployed; they begin to realize that they've been a little too sharp, and that if something is not soon done there will be no more labor to rob.

The most profuse counselors are those who volunteer advice about that of which they are the most ignorant.

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UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

VOL. IX. JULY, 1894. No. 6

A STORM HAS COME.

There is probably no corporation in the United States so thoroughly despised, or that deserves it more, than the Pullman company, nor one that the public would join more heartily in the celebration of its defeat in attempting to grind still further its employes. Yet a question arises as to what extent injury to others is justifiable in accomplishing that end.

A strike was inaugurated in the Pullman works. Justifiable, as all strikes are justifiable, if at all, by necessity—as the only alternative. It is a question whether any strike can strictly be said to be right. They partake much of the methods of barbaric man, as do wars. It is a method of force, a test of strength, relying for success on the amount of injury that it is possible to inflict on the enemy. Wherever his interests can be injured or destroyed, there the warring opponent may attack; provided, that in attacking he invade not neutral territory or injure the rights of others. Such are the recognized limits in war, which a strike is but a form of.

The Pullman cars run on the principal railroads of the country. They form but a small part of the total number used, and the business carried on through them represents but a small part of the total transportation business. Yet the sleeping and dining car formerly regarded as a luxury, has grown to be a necessity demanded by the traveling public.

In support of the strike of the employes of the Pullman works, an attack is made on the Pullman cars wherever used by a demand on the railroad companies to discontinue their use. Upon their refusal, war is declared against such company, and a strike is in force. This is practically the situation at this writing over a considerable portion of the country, and certainly assumes a serious aspect. It arises in a period of our history when the conditions are most favorable for making it such. Industrial depression, the tens of thou-

sands of idle men, a general feeling of uncertainty as to the future, is a time ripe for such conditions, but starts unknown dangers for society.

It is from this general view that the matter should be discussed, especially from the standpoint of the best interests of labor. Is it possible for results to arise from this move that will place labor, and especially railroad employes, on a better footing? Some will say yes, if all *would* act as a unit, and it would be a proper qualification to this to add, if all *could* so act. But if all could and would act, would it not be proper then for labor to change its position from that of the subservient to that of the dominant element of society, without a strike, which they would have the power to do where labor, the producer of everything, properly should be? Would labor really have advanced much if it gained but the power to name the rate of wages, and yet have nothing to say as to what the price of the product would be for which the wages must be exchanged? Is not the real object to be reached by labor in its struggle for a proper place in the world, the abolition of wages entirely, making itself its own master? Is there much difference in a man selling himself for ten hours each day and the selling himself to another for the twenty-four hours of each day for life? The wage-earner at present has but little prospect of finding any period of his life when he will not have to find someone to buy him for eight or ten hours of the day, which is about all the available energy or life he has to sell that can be utilized by another.

But labor has not been able to act as a unit. Men have had to take advantage of conditions surrounding them, and as they awakened to the need and developed the capacity to act. All men are not equal in this respect, and some have advanced ahead of others by careful utilization of the opportunities and their powers.

With some, then, there arises a question if they would not lose ground gained if joined in a general move in which the average capacity and opportunities were less than their own, for there the final result, even if successful, could not be above the average capacity and opportunity, and while some may have gained, others would have lost. This is truly a view that has selfishness as an ingredient, but as Judge Caldwell stated in the Union Pacific labor cases, "enlightened selfishness."

Is not a move like the present one placing too much at stake for too small a possible gain? Has labor yet shown any indications that it is so closely united that it can undertake, with any prospect of success, the total paralysis of industry? If it is, then would it not be the better method to *apply that* force politically, and remove forever the chance

of a repetition of the original cause of the present trouble? For if it can do so in one case it can in the other. It is such methods we have advocated for years, and time seems to indicate more strongly that it is the right one.

Assuming that it is possible by a total stoppage of transportation business to force a right settlement of the Pullman trouble, is organized labor on the several systems of railroads justified in taking steps that no reasonable man would say was just if it was in support of a grievance on the road they are employed on. The method, then, would be to try at least to settle the differences by a conference with the management, and arrive at some conclusion as to the matter; but as it has been carried out in the present difficulty, men have acted regardless of any such methods, regardless of any understanding that had been reached prior to this time with the management. No lines are drawn. No matter how comparatively fair the corporation has been, or the agreements that have been reached, and over a question the management of a road could in no way be responsible for. All demanded without even an ordinary consideration of the step to be asked of those who must act. This is a method of procedure that we do not believe is justifiable, nor can we see where any permanent good can come to labor by it. It requires but a spark to start a conflagration when all is favorable for it, and such seems to be now true.

But whatever justification or excuse there may be for employes on other railroads to act in this affair, there is none for Union Pacific employes. It has been but a short time since they took the position that a labor organization was a proper party to a contract, and that a corporation should regard such, and were practically sustained by the United States circuit court. There would be no consistency now in any one of them demanding of the company to do that which they held was wrong in the company to demand, and who are daily enjoying the benefits arising from being sustained in the position taken, for they are practically working under a contract laid down by and with the court.

No other body of men in the country are in the position they are, or have so little excuse for striking or in any way disturbing the operation of the road. They can do more for the general good of labor by strictly sustaining their agreements with the company, and demonstrating to the world that organized labor means a reasoning force, capable of taking as right a position as they would ask of employers. No reasonable man but what would condemn a corporation if it would, without warning or giving a reason, proceed against labor on the present plan.

The present trouble supports the position we took last

month that labor organizations which have built a method of right procedure, in which men were drilled, are the greatest factor of safety in times of social unrest. They were the anchors that must steady the ship of state. The sudden gathering together of large bodies of men who know nothing of what is to be accomplished or to be overcome, simply mean a menace to advancement. They are likely to destroy more than they build. The present move is an illustration of it, and whatever may be the outcome, whatever is of a permanent nature will be the result of the use of reason, not of force, and will arise from the educational work done by labor during the past years. If it is not sufficient for the emergency, no good results will follow. It is plain to be seen now that more thorough organization in the past, would have made impossible an industrial storm that now seems to be upon us.

FANATICS ALL ALIKE.

A marked copy of a paper called the *Colorado Catholic* finds its way through the mails to our desk, and in the editorial columns we find the following:

No man with any pretension to ordinary sense can make the claim that fanaticism should be treated on the same ground with Catholicism. That is to say, no man because he is a Catholic should be proscribed for this reason alone.

J. N. Corbin, the secretary of a local assembly of the Knights of Labor, is on record as asserting this principle. In substance Mr. Corbin says that if he were the controlling and governing power he would not give recognition to either Catholics or A. P. As. Why Mr. Corbin should place Catholics on the same plane with A. P. As. is only known, perhaps, to the sapient gentleman who believes he has a divine commission as a labor leader. Why he should go out of his way and make public declaration of this fact is best known to himself, and really makes very little difference to anyone except to J. N. Corbin.

If Mr. Corbin is as honest a labor sympathizer as he would make the outer world believe him to be, he will speedily and permanently rid his mental system of this theory. It is a false and utterly unsupportable assumption to make that Catholics, because they are such, should be classed or connected, directly or indirectly, with the modern hybrid of bigotry and fanaticism known as A. P. Aism. By no process of reasoning can this connection be made, and when Mr. Corbin ventures such assertions he states what is manifestly antagonistic to reason, argument and fact.

We do not believe that Mr. Corbin is unfamiliar with the history of the organization of which he is a representative when he assumes this position. The best and most honest and self-sacrificing members of the Knights of Labor are and have been men of Irish and Catholic origin. They knew, as Mr. Corbin must know, if he has any brains, that the curse and blight of every labor organization must inevitably be religious dissension. If Mr. Corbin cannot or will not see that plutocracy is the mainstay and support of the A. P. A. he should study a little, and cast about for some one to inform him.

Does he forget that the Redemption League, almost exclusively composed of A. P. As., has proven itself the sworn enemy of organized labor? Does he not know that a man who joins the A. P. A. and subscribes to its oath of proscription cannot, of necessity, be a true and loyal brother in the labor cause? Will Mr. Corbin not acknowledge that no such oath obtains among men who are Catholics, and that in every labor organization in the republic Catholics are in the van of the labor battle? And if Mr. Corbin believes that Catholics should not be recognized in political life does he not think that his place is not in the Knights of Labor, but

rather with the Redemption Leaguers and the horde of bigots and intolerants who hang with and gain their existence from them?

We would suggest to Mr. Corbin that he think a little, read more, and study the social and economic question with the aid of more intelligent labor sympathizers than he proves himself to be by his nonsensical and farcical declarations.

It is evident that if the Rev. Malone, the editor of the *Catholic*, had been reading the pages of this MAGAZINE and studying the work of industrial organizations and the need of a sweeter now-and-now for humanity, instead of devoting his energies in aid of a rotten political party which says it will redeem the state of Colorado from the control of men whose political principles are the Knights of Labor platform, he would have found no occasion to pen the above mess of misrepresentations and nonsense. He would have known that a Knight of Labor knows no brother member by any creed classification; that the only inquiry is, is he or she a true man or woman; that in the establishment of the order its founders knew that religious dissensions had been the curse of labor since the beginning, and that the only way to avoid its accursing blith was to recognize none of them, act as if they never existed, and he would have known that every member who has ever gained any prominence has acted on that principle, no matter what particular creed may have claimed them as adherents. As a rule they have little regard for any creed. He would have known that it was a duty of a Knight of Labor to regard with suspicion, as a possible enemy of mankind, anyone who made his adherence to any particular religious faith the basis of his claim for recognition—as at once being liable to excite the latent prejudices of another equally as good a man who may have a different faith, thus causing both to forget their common cause of humanity, and in their place have two fanatics, differing in no respect as to the evil work they do.

There can be no quarrel without two parties to it, and when that quarrel interferes with the peace of others it should be the duty of right-thinking men to at least attempt to silence them both.

We would feel it entirely unnecessary to pay any attention to the above, and do not as to the personalities used, if it did not evidently carry with it the intention to bring the disease of fanaticism deeper into the labor movement, raising prejudices in new quarters, and force organized labor to the point that the degree of weaknesses of men, to be subject to the disease, must divide them; i. e., in a community where the disease of fanaticism which is now sweeping over the country is particularly strong, members of a labor organization must take one form or another of the disease, assuming that all are so weak they cannot resist both forms, and stand

for humanity in opposition to all the curses religious strife has brought upon it.

We do not know of ever publicly announcing that if we were the controlling and governing power we would not give recognition to either Catholics or A. P. As., but we have said it to individuals when referring to the contemptible contest that has been going on in political affairs in many locations between fanatics who classified themselves as above, and it is to such alone we refer, and no other impression could be truthfully taken. We have been too deeply interested in the uniting of men to right their industrial relations to even inquire what their religious faith might be, and cared not, and if known it would come from other than any effort on our part. We have seen the work of industrial advancement checked, and in some places set back, by bigotry, whatever form it may be. It is as accursed in one form as another. We have worked in close relation with men for years who were Catholics and who were anti-Catholics, and have discovered no difference in the faithful regard for the interests of humanity in either. To such the utmost respect is due and given. But we have met men of the above beliefs who seem to be rapped in their religious faith, and disregarded everything else for that, or rather the antagonism of the other. In political affairs we would not recognize either of such. It would be considered a crime to the best interests of humanity to do so. We abhor creeds of any form in politics. We want the government free from their influence. They are matters for the individual only, to act on as he may see fit. Nor do we care what the individual believes in such matters, but do demand that he keep it to himself and not quarrel over it to the injury of the public. We believe that the liberal-minded men of the country are in the majority, and ought to take such steps as will free them from the annoyances and injuries inflicted by a fanatical outbreak among the minority. Those liberal-minded men have no quarrel with anyone else as to creed. Among them are Catholics, Protestants and Infidels. They are the real *men* of the nation. From such come the true members of labor organizations. Such men are not recognized by their creed, but by their manhood, by their lives, their regard for the golden rule. In their acts they are not controlled by the utterances from the pulpits of any faith, but from the promptings of right reason, developed in their own minds. It is such men alone that should be in places of public trust and the executives of our government. Will any fair-minded man say otherwise?

The position the writer has been in the past few years has brought denunciation on him from all quarters. Some

narrow-minded A. P. A. has been told that I was a Catholic, and he has gone into spasms. A Catholic has heard I was an A. P. A. and been horrified, and now the Rev. Malone devotes nearly a column of his valuable space in showing what an imbecile I am for being neither. Yet he tries hard to make me appear antagonistic to all Catholics. I certainly would be if all Catholics were fanatics; but I know all are not. I have been in too close friendship with too many of them to believe that. I have learned they were of that faith only by their saying so. They have shown they believed in the only creed I do—do unto others as you would that they do unto you, that there may be a sweet now-and-now.

In October, 1891, in these pages, we had occasion to call attention to the work plutocracy was doing to divide the masses, and among other things we said was the following, which is a sufficient answer to the accusations of not knowing the situation:

Creed antagonism has been another effective means of chaining humanity. More blood has been shed, more misery caused, over this question than all others combined, and it was always a question that the mass of humanity knew the least about. But the blinder a man is the harder he will fight against a supposed evil, and the harder he is to be convinced that there is no evil to fight; and yet belief in a creed is very much a matter of geography. The average man has had very little to do with the formation of his belief. If he did have he would be wise enough to allow others equal enjoyment of their belief, and none such will allow their belief to interfere at all in improving earthly relations. But the masters know well that it will not do to allow such a condition to grow, and some western corporations are busily encouraging, through their agents, organizations that will divide men on creed lines, reopen old animosities that labor organizations have been gradually breaking down. The creed chains were seen to be weakening, and it is surprising that under the glare of the intellectual light of this decade of the nineteenth century, it would be possible to make any impression on men with such antiquated questions.

Still, within the past few months we have heard from men, ordinarily supposed to have common sense, all groaning under the same oppressive economic conditions, toiling day in and day out, the least relaxation bringing them alike to the verge of hunger, snarl at each other over their differences in creed rather than join hands to throw off the oppression. One declaring he would have nothing further to do with the organization—referring to the Knights of Labor—so long as a Protestant Swede had anything to do with it. Another declare that he, for the rest of his life, would be the bitter enemy of any Irish Catholic. In them, not only creed but national prejudices were at work. Poor, miserable crawling worms they are! Forgetting that their common enemy was encouraging that, that he might the easier despoil them! Would they but for a day see their folly and act together, their children might have occasion to bless them.

Craft, creed and country prejudices, the weopen of the tyrant and despoiler of the happiness of mankind! Curse those who use it knowingly—pity those who use it unwittingly through ignorance! Let the light of intelligence drive out the darkness caused by its accursed influence! Bred in the bone in the past and blighted mankind, let the rising generation be not tainted with it. Stamp it out as an accursed disease. Treat the one who would encourage the propagation of it as a leper, that the future of mankind may be brighter, and man to man a brother be.

"It will be interesting to watch the elections in the cities to see whether the parties that support deputies and militia against the workers get the most of the workers' votes."

"Selfishness ever defeated its own object—happiness."

them not blame those who would not follow such a move, but rather thank them for standing steady and holding ground—gained for labor after years of constant work—from the total destruction of the storm.

In the analysis of the whole, let not loss of hope arise, but rather let the guiding thought be what is the right method? It will be discovered that there is no short cut—it must be by the development of right conditions through the use of the intellectual force that each individual is capable of developing and adding to the whole. If there had been half the energy expended in a political campaign to unite men on a single point, as has been shown in the railroad strike of the past two weeks, it could have accomplished results revolutionary in its nature, and with far less the financial expense. Will labor not see this now, and not let another opportunity to act pass by unused? It will be seen only if they do by an inspection of the character of the persons elected to represent the people at the next election, and the platforms on which they stand.

We have heard it said that a defeat of this railroad strike would be the death blow to labor organizations. Let no one believe that for one moment. Right cannot be killed. A wrong method of reaching it will be defeated, but in time it is to the advantage of right. The intellectual force for right which has arose from the educational work of organized labor will move on forever, just in proportion to its power and the obstacles to be overcome. It will increase rather than diminish those united in following such lines, by adding those whom experience has taught. The force of organized labor does not lay so much in numbers as it does in the individual power developed in each, and the drill that it has in working in unity in right methods with others. The power of a labor organization lays in the number who are regular attendants at its meetings and students of its principles and objects. At the least calculation three years' constant, active membership and study of the principles underlying the labor movement is necessary for the average man to lay claim to being organized. They must rank as learners that long at least, and be ever afterwards only advanced students.

The power of drilled men is shown where intellectual force is necessary as where the force of military is used, and in the latter case a few drilled men have often repulsed the attack of thousands acting as a mob. So will the drilled men who have espoused the cause of humanity in the labor movement resist any attacks made upon them, but will press forward the cause of humanity on those lines alone that can bring success.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE STRIKE.

The action of the executive officers of the labor organizations on the Union Pacific system in promptly cautioning all members of their duty to their organization in maintaining their contracts will be appreciated by all men when the present storm and its wrecking effects have cleared a little more away.

The meeting at Cheyenne on July 6 of the representatives of the organizations, which are recognized unions of the employes, and which were under contract supported by decree of the circuit court, and the unanimous adoption of the following, sent out as a bulletin, represented a stronger unity of organized labor forces than was probably ever before seen on a railroad system:

BULLETIN.

CHEYENNE, Wyo., July 6, 1894.

To the Members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, Knights of Labor, and Order of Railway Telegraphers on the Union Pacific System:

We, the undersigned, general chairmen of the above-named organizations, in session assembled, believing that by the Judges Caldwell and Riner decision organized labor has for the first time in the history of jurisprudence been recognized as the equal of organized capital, and since by decree of the United States court, the receivers of the Union Pacific system were forced to recognize all contracts with their employes, and as these contracts have not been violated by said receivers, we deem it our duty to again assert our determination to abide by the ruling of the honorable court, and

WHEREAS, A strike has been inaugurated on many railroads of the country, and has in a degree affected the employes of the Union Pacific who were parties to said court proceedings, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the authorized representatives of said organizations, that we advise and earnestly appeal to all members to stand by their contracts and agreements on this system, and thus redeem our pledges of honor to the court.

Resolved, That while we believe the Pullman employes are justified in resisting the offensive methods used against them, and believe labor should assist them wherever it reasonably can, in justice and equity, and in view of the position taken by the Union Pacific employes before the United States court, we deem it unwise for them to recede from the position which they are legally in and which may be the means of sacrificing all that has been gained for labor everywhere by the effect of the Caldwell decision.

GEORGE W. VROMAN, B. of L. E.
JOHN L. KISSECK, O. R. C.
C. A. M. PETRIE, B. of L. F.
S. D. CLARK, B. of R. T.
G. M. PALMER, S. M. A. A.
H. BREITENSTEIN, K. of L.
F. E. GILLILAND, O. R. T.

The representatives at that meeting had in their hands the test of whether an organization of labor, which Judge

Caldwell said was the equal before the law of organized capital, could maintain its integrity and show to the world that it could do what it demands of others to do to it. All necessary reason for their action appears in the bulletin. The unanimity with which they were supported by the membership speaks well for the work organization has been doing in the past, and is a strong argument for the efficiency of the organizations that have gained a standing in the past, united as they now are in federation.

It matters not who may talk about sentiment under the excitement of the times, the fact still remains that labor organized to succeed must stand on strictly business principles; must take into consideration every law of cause and effect, and must not waiver from following right methods in every move undertaken and under all conditions.

On the Union Pacific system a favorable condition for labor has been established after years of negotiation through organizations. All have reaped those benefits. The organizations which have brought it about stand to maintain it, asking only that which reason says is right. A large element, that has done practically nothing to that end, but has enjoyed the benefits, rush into a new organization, all inside of a few months, and then at the command of men entirely unconnected with them in the service, rush into a strike in sympathy for men that they could have aided by giving them the amount of a day's pay, but in no way by quitting work, and then demand support in their action from those who have been constantly at work trying to improve the condition of labor and have many good results to show for their efforts, wanting them to risk the results of years in a hopeless struggle. And this was asked, too, after they have acted, not even condescending to lay the matter before the organizations which have been long enough in existence to have a standing, before they take the step.

Sad it is that men should suffer from such moves, but who can they blame but themselves? Organization is not a new thing, nor does the simple joining of an organization make men organized. There has got to be method for the foundation, and that method has got to be understood by the members. That takes time and drill. There are none of the old organizations on the Union Pacific but what have had to learn it by experience.

Men like Debs and Howard, who were the leaders of this move, knew better than what they did, and every man or family who suffers because of following their leadership has a right to condemn them.

For them to lead on such a move as was attempted amounts to a crime against the best interests of labor. The

lesson learned, however, may be of the greatest value if it awakens men to the fact that Rome was not built in a day, and that there is no short cut to the results labor is seeking for, and that everything new is not better than the old, but often worse. As a result, however, there will be a lot of men who were raw recruits in the army of organized labor, who, without considering the experience of past efforts, who, because they do not succeed in a wild rush at the start, want to lay down and make no further attempt. If they will realize that there is something to be learned before they can be called soldiers in the army of social reform, and will join hands with those who have gained that distinction, they will have less cause for complaint in the future.

The old organizations that have gained and maintained a position, united as they practically have been for months past on the Union Pacific system, present a safe place for every man who wishes to add his weight on the side of right and justice to labor, and everyone will have the benefit of the experience of older ones at the work. If prejudice keeps any out, let all remember their act injures no one but themselves, and if they have fault to find with such organizations, the only way to correct it is from the inside. An opportunity is ever open for all such to use their individual efforts for improvement. Let no man complain because others do not repeat their mistakes.

THE truth is a terror to some people. Rev. Myron W. Reed, one of the popular clergymen of the country, preached a sermon at Denver some time ago and the trustees of the church took exceptions to it, and his resignation followed. On another page we print this sermon in full. The reader can judge from it whether it contained truth or not. We also publish some words from Rev. Robert McIntyre of Denver, said from his pulpit a short time after Mr. Reed's resignation, in face of which event they have much significance. It will be such men, perhaps, who will be able to save the pulpits from a general condemnation of being filled with hypocrits. Mr. Reed is now talked of seriously for governor of Colorado. He is certainly a man of the people.

THE condition of the transportation facilities of the country arising from strikes ought to convince all of the necessity of the governmental ownership of railroads to insure the best results to the people. Every person delayed in travel, every person expecting freight, every receiver of a delayed letter, every farmer wishing to get his products to market, must know that he would have no cause of complaint from the result of a strike if the people, through the govern-

ment, owned and operated the railroads. There has been an object lesson that ought to go far toward bringing about that result. The practical railroad manager ought to wish for it, for his services would be needed just as much then as now, and he would be relieved many anxious hours. The talk of political corruption following has nothing to support it. The railroads would be further out of politics than at present. There would be no great railroad corporations to place thousands of dollars in a campaign to get men favorable to their interests into legislative halls and executive and judicial positions, and proper civil service rules would protect railroad operatives better than now from the pressure of political influence. The only ones that can consistently object are those who have secured wealth from the manipulations of stocks and bonds. The legitimate investor in railroads will find plenty of openings quite as safe in which to invest, and a large army of the wage-earning classes will be removed from a direct interest in the wages question. There are a thousand strong reasons why the people should operate the roads to one against it. The present is a good time to discuss them. The importance of railroads to every community is now brought forcibly to the attention of all.

ORGANIZATION is quite often necessary for the protection of men against hasty, inconsiderate acts of fellow-workmen, and at such time is as greatly needed as when it is called on to resist the tyranny of employers. What right has a body of men to spring together in a few weeks, inaugurate a strike effecting thousands of others, and demanding of them to act with them without even consulting with them regarding the step beforehand, and especially when such men have been organized for years, have by experience developed methods of procedure, and have entered into contracts with their employers. Whose members have made all calculations on the conditions they have thus, by constant, consistent efforts established, remaining? What use is organization as a defense if it is not to build up a power made from the reasoning force of men? A single man on the streets of a city, with a few yells attract a crowd. By a little calculation and watching for the proper opportunity, it is possible for him to set a howling mob running up the street. In one sense of the word it is an organization. It might possibly do something—as to hang a man, tear down a building, or put out a fire—yet will dissolve as quickly as formed. It is nothing of that nature that is safe for man to rely on, nor can it be a force for social good. Reason has no place in them. Man organizes governments on plans intended to accomplish right ends with the least disturbance, and must make them stand in opposition to all

that violates right methods. Labor organizes to advance principles in society that is for its good. It, too, must work on consistent lines; must not rely entirely on its physical force, but on intellectual force, and in pursuing such methods it must guard itself against any conditions that may arise which would deviate it from its course and to its injury, or to the loss of what it has already accomplished. In doing so, organized labor is doing that which organizations are created for.

THE OBJECTIONABLE SERMON.

Rev. Myron W. Reed on Sunday morning, June 3, took his text from the first epistle of John, seventeenth verse: "And the World Passeth Away." This is the sermon that cost the big-hearted pastor his job. He spoke as follows:

I need not tell you that the end of the world, as used in the Bible, does not mean the end of the earth. There is nothing the matter with the sunrise and sunset. The machinery of the universe is in better order than any watch. The end of the world means the end of a condition of things. You read Gibbon's "Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire," and there you read the rise and fall of the world—Rome was the world.

Alexander's country was the world. England is in a large sense the world of to-day. The globe-trotter is not long out of hearing of her drum or out of sight of her flag. Commercially she pervades the earth.

"The world passeth away," says John. That is history. It is written of certain cities that they shall be cast into the sea. A recent pilgrim says that he had no trouble in finding Magdela. But he did not find Bethsaida and Chorasin until one day while bathing he found them with his feet. He could distinguish the hewn stone of the drowned cities, where in vain the mighty works were done. The world familiar to St. Paul is buried. The old Athens is gone. Byron looks at the place of old renown and says: ""Tis Greece, but living Greece no more.

I have been out to a Sunday school picnic to Starved Rock, near Ottawa, Ill. (It was not on Decoration day and it did not rain.) There was not an Indian in sight, not Iroquoise nor Illani nor Kaskaskia. Here in the time of Marquette was an Indian metropolis. Here was the capital of New France. Not far off La Salle built his fort of "The Broken Heart." The Illinois farmer plods along on these old acres and now and then picks up a flint arrow-head in the furrows, and more rarely a copper axe. He puts these on the mantlepiece with the sea shells and the cardboard receiver of dead matches, and meditates. The world passeth away. It does not go in a hurry. It lingers, like the alligator—he does not belong here. He is an old fashion, like a five-toed horse.

The world passeth away like winter.

The first time I saw a man in his shirt sleeves hoeing his yard convinced me of spring.

There is where Christ has the advantage of us. To Him there is no time. He is so lifted up there He sees the whole procession from old Eden to the New Jerusalem. And so he is hopeful, confident. He sees the fifth act of his human play and He says: "Let not your hearts be troubled, neither let them be afraid." But I, a victim of space and time, worry more about the divine event than is good for me.

I would much like to see with these eyes the republic of God, not mapped out like a county seat in the Cherokee Strip, but established, no rival contestant. Of course I have given that up. Everything that is good and lovely is a-coming, but several things that are

American people will bring them to see and act upon this.

It is rather evident that attempts to break up organizations of either employes or employers will never prevent strikes, but will, on the contrary, tend to foster them. This has been pretty well demonstrated in this country and still better in Britain, where such attempts have been abandoned. In fact, a recent English writer takes the ground that the complete organization of employers on one hand and employes on the other furnishes the best reason for believing that strikes there will become rarer and rarer year by year. His reasoning—and it appears to us to be good—is, that as each party finds the other prepared to assert its rights their mutual rights will be respected, or that, at least, like two equally prepared naval powers, they will hesitate about trying their strength, and settle their differences by milder means.

We are not of those who believe that the time will come when employes and employers will be able always to see alike as to labor and wages. This would be asking too much of human nature. Nor do we believe that arbitration can be enforced; if it comes at all it must be through the efforts of the best thinkers among those who pay and those who receive wages. It would seem that not many strikes like that of the coal miners would be required to lead such men to the conclusion that arbitration is the better method of effecting a settlement.

The greatest difficulty at the present time in bringing about adjustment by arbitration is that one party or the other is almost certain to announce that it has nothing to arbitrate. Of course, this settles the matter, although it would seem to the unprejudiced that the party that was sure of the justice of its claims should have no hesitancy in having them pronounced upon by unprejudiced arbitrators.

It seems hardly necessary to say that arbitration should precede any overt act, such as a strike or lockout; should be resorted to before passions are aroused that inevitably blind reason and lead to results more or less unsatisfactory, even if the trouble is eventually settled by arbitration.

Strikes settle nothing except the relative strength of the contending parties. Arbitration would, or should, settle differences on the basis of justice. —*American Machinist.*

DR. M'INTYRE'S POSITION.

Rev. Robert McIntyre spoke plain words on a recent Sunday evening at Trinity church, Denver, in the course of a sermon on the subject "Let Us Have Peace." He said in part:

I propose in this new year which begins for us to-night that there shall be one pulpit at least in Denver which shall be unshakled. I propose to speak the truth and the whole truth as God gives it to me; and if the authorities of the church do not like it they can tell me to go at any time; but while I stay here I shall say truth as I see it. The rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer. Few rich men feel that they hold their money as stewards. When this feeling comes to them, this class hatred will die out. The same dangers are threatening this country that proved the downfall of Assyria and Babylon. Do not think our riches or our culture or our civilization will save us. If we travel the same road, the same fate will overtake us that befell Carthage and Rome and Venice.

Capital is always a menace. There is a mistery I cannot fathom about money. I have known workmen who were good, sympathetic fellows. When they got money they became purse-proud, inflated; yes, even base. They are not all so; some rich men are good. Will the workingmen ever know that they are throwing away two weapons with which to fight the rich? The rumseller takes their money and their strength. It impoverishes them and it diseases them. If they had all the money they put into the saloon they could meet and vanquish it. Until

they save that money to put into great papers and magazines in which to tell the truth about the labor question they will struggle in vain against capital. The rumseller destroys their nerves and their strength, and those of their children. Each succeeding race of workingmen will be weaker and more puny until they will give up drink. I have been pondering this question that is troubling us all. I shall not abuse officials. That is not the way to handle this question. The pulpit has got to go down into the slums. I would to-morrow join any league of ministers who would leave their big churches and pleasant parsonages and salaries and take their wives and families and go down into the slums of the great cities.

Then the workingmen must acquire sufficient sense to elect men in sympathy with them. There is no use in their lifting up this old cry of corruption and deception and fraud as long as they continue to place in office men not of their class and who do not represent them. If the national capitol was cleaned out to-morrow from the president to the janitor, I could go to the trades and pick from them men of just as much intelligence and brains and honesty as is there now. And if they had not the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in their hearts they would be just as bad in a short time as those there now. I am sorry there is so much recrimination and carping and fault-finding in Denver. Men and women, let us be charitable; let us think well even of political opponents. I believe every man in office is trying to do what he believes to be right."

"The poor ye have always with you." Yes, and always will have, so long as we have the individual rich.

The heart of the well-to-do is being touched by the suffering of the unemployed as never before. It is a God-send to them to soften, if possible, their stony hearts, but of what a cost to their fellows!

DISTRESS IN AUSTRALIA.

A Melbourne dispatch says: Australia is anticipating trying times of depression and distress again during the winter which will soon close in. The colonies have by no means recovered entirely from the disastrous slump of two years ago, which depressed every industry and paralyzed almost all the national and individual resources.

"The fear that the distress in the coming winter will be keen is generally in men's minds," says the Melbourne *Argus*. After looking over the situation in this colony the *Argus* takes anything but a hopeful view, though it tries to be cheerful in urging the people able to lend a hand in preparations for relieving the distress that seems inevitable.

Social and business organizations in this city and all over the colony have begun preparations for doing a share in the relief work. Schemes for concerts, lectures, charity fairs, and like devices for raising money are already well under way. The city and colonial governments will reopen the relief works that were organized last winter. One means of helping the unemployed which was very successful last winter was to set them at work clearing the public lands which were soon to be thrown open to settlement. The settlers were required to reimburse the government for the improvements. Another scheme adopted was to send unemployed men to the old gold diggings, where, under the guidance of old miners, they were able to get out enough gold to afford a fair living for themselves and families. Both these plans are to be worked again this winter if circumstances demand.

The Australian winter is not nearly so severe as the winters in England and the northern states of America. But people can't eat sunshine, and the prospect is that there will be very many hungry people in the colonies during the dull season which will begin in a month or six weeks. This season may last until the end of August.

"WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE!"

The argument of counsel for the employes of the Northern Pacific railroad before the United States district court at Milwaukee presents so many facts which should be patent to the most ordinary understanding, and, by inference, points to so many anomalies in our political and judicial expressions of those facts that *Puck's* exclamatory indictment of the world in general gains a particular application to this glorious land of the free.

The receivers of the Northern Pacific have obtained an injunction from the court over which Judge Jenkins presides, restraining the employes from striking and the officers of the labor organizations from ordering, recommending or advising a strike; and the labor organizations are required to show cause why the injunction shall not be madé perpetual.

There is an amendment to the constitution of the United States which declares that, except as a punishment for crime, there shall be no involuntary servitude in the United States. A man working for the Northern Pacific, receiving wages which are satisfactory to him, is performing servitude which is voluntary. The receivers of the road, with Judge Jenkins' injunctions in their inside pocket, come along and say to that man: "Your wages are reduced twenty-five per cent." If the man is inclined to accept the reduction he continues in his voluntary servitude; but if he is inclined to resist and to consult with his fellow laborers with a view of ascertaining whether the same state of affairs confronts them, and, if so, whether they are disposed to resist and will join issue with him in resisting; if he is so disposed, out come the injunctions, and he is suddenly brought to the realization that his servitude is involuntary—in other words, he becomes a slave by the decree of a court of this glorous land of the free!

Quite a contradictory state of things, *isn't it?* How has it come about? Simply through the pursuit of false ideas.

In its funamentals our government rests upon the best ideals to which the world has ever consciously aspired. We are the heritage of all the ages of government. We have had the benefit of all past experience and the group of independents who put together the framework of the American states knew their business. But they could not preclude, by any civil instrument, the possibility of their posterity setting up a different ideal to follow. Indeed, to attempt such a thing were to deny the liberty they claim for themselves. But the independence following them are impelled, by the reason of their being independents, to constantly reassert the ideal which guided the independents of the eighteenth century and resulted in an American republic.

This reassertion becomes necessary because, owing to some fatal forgetfulness like that which went before the erection of the golden calf in scriptural history, mankind is apt to give ear to the false. The edict which went forth from the victorious colonies was the same grand old cry that comes from all the independents of the past—"Manhood Rules!" Along in the latter half of our first century of national existence we forgot this ideal and a great many of us thought "Cotton is King!" It got us into quite a little stew.

Later on there were feeble strains of "Corn is King," but they have not amounted to much. The time is not long past when the railroad president fondly imagined himself to be a king in a small way and he rode about in his private car (to which there cannot be the slightest objection) and received the homage of the various towns along the line (which was very ridiculous). To-day the form which the false ideal takes upon itself is found in the delicately suggested thought "Wealth is King." We are all engaged in a mad rush for money. Everything is reduced to a money basis; and the courts, good servants of the common understanding—

truthful expressors of the general ideal, faithfully subserve the thing which, in our minds, we have enthroned.

With this state of affairs before him the independent utters no complaint, but takes up his old cry "manhood rules," and goes gaily forth to battle. And that battle will end when a great many of us realize that we have been making a foolish spectacle of ourselves before the eternal and our supreme court passes a judgment in harmony with eternal right.

It may be necessary to seat an entire new bench full of judges, and it may take years, but the right of a man to work or stop work will triumph over slavery.—*The Republic.*

COME DOWN A PEG OR MORE.

The platform adopted at the convention of the old-style railroad brotherhoods recently held in this city, contains the following clause:

"The employes of the operating departments of railroads have the interests of the general public in charge to a greater extent than probably any other class of workingmen, and the public should show a greater interest in promoting their general welfare, affording greater security to life and limb and a full protection in the exercise of vested rights of citizenship."

This clause reveals to a great extent one of the leading causes of the failure of the old brotherhoods to solve the problem that confronted them, and to prevent their downfall; it also reveals the fact that these organizations have learned nothing.

The labor movement springs from an industrial condition of things under which not only each trade but every individual in each and all trades, is interdependent upon each and all others. Such an industrial condition draws, not only all trades, but all the wealth producers, so closely together that none can stand alone, and thereby the bond that unites all comes so strongly to light as to induce them to understand their class unity and unitedly to make for freedom. Under such a system the miner is dependent on the farmer for his food; the farmer on the weaver for his clothing; the weaver on the engineer for his machine; the engineer on the bricklayer for his housing; the bricklayer on the railroader for transportation; and the railroader on all these for fuel, food clothing, machinery, housing etc., etc. As is the railroader, so is every member of the body social, so is society.

It is a feature of the old style form of trade unions that it ignores this fact; each trade stands upon its own bottom; imagines itself the most important; builds around itself a Chinese wall—and thereby insures its collapse. Most old-style trade unions have got over this defect, however doggedly they may still stick to other errors. But the old-style railroad union still adheres to the old idiocy of conceit.

The railroaders have not "the interests of the general public in charge to a greater extent" than any other class of workers. All workers have the interests of the general public in charge. Without all of them the general public cannot get along.

Let the old-style railroad brotherhoods come down a peg or more from the high perch they have taken and which lies at the bottom of the troubles that to-day beset them. Let them take their place as a link in the long chain of workers, on a level with all.

The labor movement consists not of an army of graded aristocracies, it consists of an army of equally fleeced wage slaves. —*The People.*

"People who think too little are sure to talk too much."

"The lightning is as full of mercy as the gentle shower."

"You can tell by the honey where the bees have been."

"There is no deed more heroic than to o yourself."

THE VANITY OF GREAT MEN.

It is unquestionable that many of the most celebrated men have been absurdly and foolishly vain, but before anyone concludes that vanity is either a part or an incident of greatness it ought to be remembered that no man, great or small, is a fixed quantity, to be counted upon at all times as the same. No man is the same from year to year, from month to month, or from day to day. The processes of thought, the moods of the mind, are as swift as the flash of light, and doubtless one man who lives through a long life experiences all the moods of which any man of his level of cultivation has ever been capable. Instead of being true that the vanity of great men makes them great, or that they do their best in the mood of vanity, it is probably true that in doing their really great work they are not vain at all, or even self-conscious at all. It is only as they look back upon it that it inflates some of them with pride, which often shows itself in vanity. "Gods!" said Dean Swift, smiting his hand on the table as he read over one of his own productions, "what a genius I had when I wrote that!" This was vanity, no doubt. And it was vanity in Ruskin which made him say: "With Carlyle I stand, we two alone now in England, for God and the queen." But does this justify anyone in saying, as M. Du Clos does in concluding a series of interesting anecdotes on the vanity of great men, that "as people are usually taken at their own estimate, self-appreciation should not be condemned?"

It seems rather true as a fact of the physiology of the mind that uncontrollable vanity is a sure symptom of the onset of insanity. All great men are brave in initiative, but the courage which enables them to succeed where others dare not even attempt is never so potent as when it leads to entire self-forgetfulness. When Napoleon concluded himself a demigod, when he began to stuff his stomach instead of exercising his brain, as he had done, he became unable to keep awake when he most needed to be wary, and having reached this stage, he was already far along on the road to Waterloo. And both Ruskin and Swift were far along toward the madhouse when it was no longer possible for them to master their vanity and hold it in the same subjection in which they were holding it while they were doing the work which made them celebrated. Great intellectual effort requires high nervous tension. It is ability to stand this tension which makes greatness, and the vanity of greatness is merely the symptom of reaction—of breaking down, of the insanity which is the result of nervous tension uncontrolled by will. The lunatic asylums are full of people whose symptoms are identical with what some have mistaked for indications of greatness.—*St. Louis Republic.*

"True faith never goes home until it gets what it went after."

"The richest people on earth are those who give away the most."

"Every monopoly helps to open the eyes of the people. Every issue of bonds, every combine, every bribery, every unjust decision, every failure, awakens some people to realize the armed heel of the coming despotism. There is not a single influence to-day that directly or indirectly is not helping to bring in the new civilization."

Unselfishness is impossible under this social system, where every man is struggling against every other man for the means of a living. Avarice is the controlling idea. But when labor for all can be had on equal terms, and no one can make profits off his neighbor, then there will be only a struggle with nature, not men, and selfishness can and will cease having no opportunity for food. To live well will require to produce well, but not to grab what others have produced.

PROPERTY IN LABOR.

His labor is not the workingman's capital. The workingman cannot logically be said to sell his labor. The statement is one of the errors upon which plutocracy hangs its case. If it were true it would be difficult to show the unreason of plutocratic arguments. A workingman serves the community just as a railroad company does. Let a man buy a railroad ticket entitling him to be a rider from New York to Albany. He takes his seat in the train. He does not buy the seat, but simply hires the privilege of occupying it. If he bought the seat it would become his property, and if then, he chose to cut a strip of plush from it to make a band for his hat, no objection could be offered by the company; but let him try this and how soon will he find himself in the clutches of the law? In serving the public the railroad company yields no portion of its right on its property, and so, in serving a railroad corporation or other employer a wage-worker yields no portion of his right in his labor. Yet we frequently hear the statement advanced that as this man or that man is paid for his labor he has no right to object to the direction in which his employer demands that he shall expend that labor. There was a time when capital held to the doctrine of property in human beings. It has been forced away from that position at the cost of a horrible war. Has it taken ground any nearer to truth when it asserts the doctrine of property or commodity in labor? Labor is neither property nor commodity. Labor is an inalienable right and duty of each, and it cannot be bartered nor sold unless the penalty of such violation of natural law be paid by both parties to the transaction. Idleness is also a violation of the natural law, and where it exists it implies an undue proportion of labor forced upon others which involves the payment of the penalty by the oppressed for their submission to the crime as well as by the oppressors for their commission of the crime. Whatever tends toward the equal distribution of labor is democratic and therefore American in the true sense. That which tends in the other direction is un-American and the other direction is the one which plutocracy would treat with its doctrine of property in labor.—*The Republic.*

CEDAR FOR PENCILS.

Ask the next wise man you meet how many lead pencils are consumed per capita by the inhabitants of the United States and see if his wisdom will stand by him. If he answers correctly, says the *Northwestern Lumberman*, he will say something less than four for every man, woman and child.

The wood of which these pencils are made comes from Florida. It is red cedar, straight grained and comparatively free from knots. One of the manufacturing concerns has a mill in Florida where cedar logs are transformed into strips about seven inches long, three-eighths of an inch thick and three inches wide. These strips are created and sent north. Each strip represents a half of six pencils. Six grooves are made lengthwise; into these grooves the graphite is placed and two strips are glued together. The block is then split into squares and the pencils furnished either round or hexagon as desired.

May be you have never thought of it in that light, but the pencil industry uses up a large amount of cedar. An average red cedar log contains about four cubic feet of wood, and there are on an average 25 trees to the acre. If no mistake has been made in the rapid computation, it requires the timber from not less than 2,600 acres to supply the pencil manufacturers of this country. In addition considerable cedar is exported to Germany. Alabama was once the great pencil cedar producing state, but the cedar, which was clearer and larger than that found in Florida, is exhausted. Manufacturers have tested other kinds of wood with a view to finding a substitute for cedar, but so far without success.

It doesn't take long to make one

pencil. The graphite is ground and mixed with great care, and in this mixing is the pencil maker's secret. The mixture is placed in a machine that might properly be called a little sausage stuffer, from the end of which is forced a constant stream of lead the proper size for a pencil. These threads of lead are cut in lengths, baked in an oven, and when hard are glued into the little grooves. The rough pencils are shaped either round or hexagon at the rate of 75 a minute, or 46,000 a day; 125 pencils a minute, or 75,000 a day, are colored and varnished; burnishing and stamping are done at the rate of 100 a minute, or 60,000 a day. This work is done by machinery operated by girls not more than 12 years of age, and who, no doubt, earn as much as a dollar or two a week.

The little blocks which are frequently used inside of the bunches of pencils are made of poplar, each block being grooved to fit the pencils. Twenty years ago you paid more for a pencil than you do to-day. The invention of machinery and the discovery of a graphite mine have reduced the cost of them at least 50 per cent. Foreign pencils have been gradually ousted, and at present, if I am not mistaken, we export about as many lead pencils as we import.

The few factories in this country hang together like brothers, and the chances are that if we should put our spare money into a lead pencil factory, they would make it warm for us. Whether you think a pencil is a good one or not, depends. If the profits on lumber are rolling in and you are making money hand over fist, you would be satisfied to figure with a burnt stick, but when it is up-hill business to make the two ends meet, it takes an A 1 pencil to call out favorable comment.

"Good advice is a bad dose to take."

"So long as the masses vote the same tickets as the bankers, manufacturers and monopolists, they will be hewers of wood and drawers of water for others. A man who don't know what his ballot is for is only fit for a slave."

HOODWINKING THE PEOPLE.

You have noticed when you desire to take from a little child something it wants, it sets up a protest. But if you begin by attracting its attention to some other article or idea, you can derive it of its coveted prize without any outcry. Now grown up children can be and are treated in the same way. When the ruling powers of any nation desire to take from the people coveted rights, they begin to portray the beauties of some unimportant matter and divert their attention from the real design. Have you ever been thus fooled? You bet you have! Tariff up and tariff down has been played on the people while the vilest financial laws ever enacted have been foisted on them.—*Coming Nation.*

"The pleasure-seeker has many disappointments."

"People are not vain except when they have no knowledge."

"Character is something that cannot be burned up or buried."

"Laugh, and the world won't like it if you are laughing at your own jokes."

"A boy's idea of a mean man is one who will build a house on the ball grounds."

"If every man had a home what would landlords do for a living? Then do you think these men want a system that would enable every man to have a home he could neither mortgage nor sell? Not a bit of it. The tenants are in a majority to-day, but they vote the landlords' ticket."

"A government bond is the cute little joker that snatches the bread from the mouths of famishing millions and stacks it up in the warehouses of the rich. Did you ever see one? Has the little dollar coupons ready for use by clipping them off. O, but the rich have things made nice and handy for them."

District Department.

DISTRICT OFFICERS.

D. M. W.—H. BREITENSTEIN.....Laramie, Wyo.
D. W. F.—GEORGE C. MILLER.... Rosedale, Kan.
D. R. S.—J. N. CORBIN .. ..Denver, Colo.
D. F. S. and T.—W. L. CARROLL....Denver, Colo.
D. Stat.—L. J. IHM.....Omaha, Neb.

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Postoffice Box 740. Denver, Colo.

A quarterly report is due from all locals July 1. Local secretaries should see that these are sent in promptly.

The delay in getting to our readers the July MAGAZINE arises from the fact that the editor has been forced to give his time and attention to the interests of our organization and its members at the time when he would otherwise have been engaged on THE MAGAZINE work. It is to be hoped that an occasion like the present will not again arise to cause delay.

If but a part of the reports are true, the affairs at the general headquarters of the Knights of Labor at Philadelphia are far from being in a right condition. It is well, though, for all members to reserve their decision till all the facts are known. The newspaper notoriety which some of the present and the past general officers are creating for themselves is doing neither themselves nor the order any good.

The world is not going to be reformed, or the ills removed, on the lightning express plan; but steady, constant work is going to do the good man will enjoy. Let all workmen who join a labor organization remember that it is not going to do everything for him that he has occasion to complain of. And he can realize the good they do by comparison with bodies of men who have had no organization, or periods past when they had no organization. There will be plenty of wrongs for their children to right after they have spent a lifetime in the work.

It is wonderful how quickly men who have never done one thing to advance the general welfare of labor, can find themselves full-fledged labor advocates and ready to yell "scab" at men who have done more for the welfare of labor than they ever will be able to do if they devote the rest of their lives to it. When such men do not approve of methods, they adopt in their newly acquired zeal, or are not willing to sacrifice the result of constant, consistent work of years in a conflagration they have started. What the toilers gained in the past has come by slow degrees, and what it gains in the future will come the same way. There is no short cut to it, and it will result from those who keep up a constant pressure forward, and none at all from those who suddenly conclude to turn the world over at one great effort. Such men invariably fall back to worse than scabs, and are generally destroyers of what has been gained by the consistent work of others in times past. They generally claim they know more of what should be done than men who have had long years of experience, and know the difficulties to be met at every turn.

The dissensions and bickerings among men in the various craft organizations on the Union Pacific system are nothing less than discrediting to their cause, and are advantageous only to the enemy of organized workmen. No one laments more sincerely than I do that unhappy differences have arisen which has had the tendency to divide rather than unite our forces.

Differences of opinions upon speculative questions will always exist, therefore if we wait until they are reconciled, the action of human affairs would be suspended forever. Perfection in man should never be looked for any more than agreement among many on all questions. Yet every man is able to

contribute some good. If such contributions are made in good faith none should be rejected. If there are those who will not contribute anything for the welfare of the whole, if there are those who have no virtues, their vices may teach us useful lessons. The transplanting of patriotism on other soil has been the means of wonderful improvement; the transplanting of principles among the employes on this system from one organization to another may have the same effect. Mankind must be taken as it is. The virtues and abilities should be distributed in accordance with the effect they have on the whole. When we lose men whose services have been valuable, they should only be replaced by better.

The condition of the wage-earner is growing more complicated each succeeding year. Unless we learn to understand the causes that bring about these conditions, and unless we can meet together to intelligently discuss the questions that cause these conditions, there is little hope for the final solution of the grave problems that are confronting the people to-day.

Anything that will tend to abolish the present unhappy conditions should appeal to our highest faculties, to our most developed sentiments, and to all we have within us of good. To abolish these conditions means to abolish poverty, the parent of crime. If this is worthy and noble, we should try as early as possible to discover the means, and explain the same so that no intellectual divergence can possibly exist in relation to the principles upon which society is built.

The Knights of Labor have done more in this direction than all others. It, therefore, rests with the employes within the jurisdiction of District Assembly No. 82 to say whether they will continue to maintain its former reputation.

As master workman of District Assembly No. 82 I certainly appreciate the good work that has been done by our members. We owe this to humanity. We have reaped the rewards of the *labors of countless millions* gone. We owe the same to the millions yet to come.

Until we all help each other, until all the world is inspired with a common interest, there will be cruelty, injustice and inhumanity.

This knowledge should inspire us to continue to spread the principles of the Knights of Labor, and I feel confident that all will feel the necessity of making one strong pull in this direction with renewed energy. Let it never be necessary to repent for not having done your duty toward this end.

H. BREITENSTEIN.

NOTES OF THE STRIKE.

Many workmen have been caused to suffer from the incidental effects of the railroad strikes who were in no way responsible for it. The stoppage of many eastern and western connections of the Union Pacific caused the stopping of many trains that would otherwise have run. From Cheyenne west there was more or less of a strike, and the shops were all closed. At Denver the closing of the shops was also ordered, but on request of the organization they were reopened the next day, though only on half time. Forty hours per week had been ordered all over the system just prior to the strike, and the strike made a reason or an excuse for further reduction. A strike of shopmen at this time could do little harm, at least to the Union Pacific system, and at some points would be considered a relief to the management.

On the Kansas and Nebraska divisions there were no employes who went on strike, and practically there was no strike on the Colorado division, those who quit at Denver being divided among car repairers, inspectors, cleaners, trackmen, switchmen and freight handlers.

Patrick Haggerty, foreman in the coach yard at Denver, quit work with others. A few days afterwards he became insane and committed suicide. Haggerty was a man well known by men

who have worked for the Union Pacific at Denver, and had a host of friends.

The strike effected the Gulf road principally at Trinidad, and sufficient to blockade it for several days.

President Jeffrey, of the Rio Grande, made hosts of friends by the liberal method he took of settling the trouble on that road. As soon as the first excitement had somewhat subsided, in company with a committee of the organized men, he went over the system, allowing all who had done nothing but quit work to be reinstated, and the strike on that system at once vanished.

Just how many men quit of their own accord on the Union Pacific is hard to estimate, as the pulling off of trains because of no connection on the west with the Central Pacific and the closing of the shops from Cheyenne west put many on the idle list who were practically in the same position as the strikers as far as work is concerned. With the resumption of business all such will go on as before, and from expressions made by the general manager and some of the superintendents, there will probably be but few of the others but what will be given employment as business increases. Some undoubtedly will lose their places, but for reasons they can only blame themselves for, for they have been guilty of acts that would not be justifiable where a strike was over local issues—say nothing of a sympathetic strike. But it is pleasing to know that there were but few of these on the Union Pacific, where there was less cause for any kind of a strike than any other system in the country.

The representatives of the federated orders endeavored to persuade Mr. Dickinson to allow all to return to work who wished, taking up individual cases where discharge seemed justifiable, but he took the position that as business resumed and men were wanted this could be done, as there was no work for many of the men then idle; that no new men would be employed till those on rolls as extra men were all fully employed or given the opportunity, consequently while there will be some reduction in numbers, there will be little change as to the men composing the force on the system, simply being fewer men on the extra list and a reduction in shop force that would otherwise have been made in hours.

THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE EMPLOYES' CASES.

In our last issue we stated that copies of the record in the case of the Union Pacific Employes vs. Receivers could be had from this office, bound in cloth, for $1, delivered. This was according to a statement from the printers at Omaha who have the contract to supply those ordered by the court. Since then they have informed us that was a mistake. Copies bound in paper would be furnished for $1; bound in cloth they will furnish for $1.75. This will account for copies being sent those who first ordered which were bound in paper, and who were disappointed in receiving paper covers.

Sucn can be sent back at our expense if not wanted, or cloth bound copies supplied. There will be no question about them all being disposed of. We regret that the mistake occurred, but it was not the fault of this office.

A HANDY WORD.

Teacher—"Give a synonym for the word 'reduce.'"

Bright Boy—"Equalize."

"Wrong."

"Well, that's the word the railroads use when they reduce wages."

"Hum! Give a synonym for the word 'increase.'"

"Equalize."

"Nonsense."

"Well, that's the word the railroads use when they increase rates."—*Good News.*

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

ARMSTRONG, Kan., June 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The weather for the past month has been variable. Slight frosts appeared on several occasions, doing considerable damage to fruits and vegetables. On June 9 we enjoyed the first good rain of the season. We are now getting the same kind of liquid at intervals, which insures us a bountiful crop of everything.

There is nothing new to be chronicled from here or from around the shops. Everything is going along smoothly here, with plenty of work in all departments.

The company is bringing to this point a heavier class of engines from other points, and the light ones taken from here substituted in their places.

Business on the road is dull.

The company laid off four coach builders June 1. But a great many of the men prognosticated a big lay off, assigning many flimsy theories for the same. One of the reasons was that the company would take some advantage of the men on account of Judge Caldwell's decision being adverse to the company's views of economy on the road. If a wag starts a report that so many men will be laid off at a given time, it will be echoed all over the shops in short order. To listen to the comments of some of the men on these occasions would make some others of the same sex ashamed of themselves, as their words and actions are sillier than little school boys. To hear these same men on the streets, in cafes or in the company of strangers, blowing about their independent manhood and their mechanical abilities, you might think they were somebody. But it is nothing but a hollow mockery, and the company is aware of these facts.

At the present time the company is doing better than most of the roads centering here for its men. We are working forty-eight hours a week, and paid regularly on the 16th of each month. The Santa Fe system of railroads is working their men in the shops only thirty-two hours a week. The Missouri Pacific laid their shop men off at Cypress the three last days of May. The Fort Scott company is working their men forty hours a week. In fact industries of every kind is working short handed. And the worst feature about all shops and factories and industries where men are employed is that advantage is taken of the men, and they are made to work harder, with a domineering spirit worse than in slavery days in the south.

Corporations of every kind are but creatures of the people. A day of reckoning might come, when these corporations would have to cower to the majesty of the working people. There should be a better understanding between capital and labor than there is at the present time. But I really believe that if the workingman had the corporations in such straits as the employes are in at present they would be relentless too.

We are going to build two more new engines here under the supervision of James Roberts.

It is laughable to read the comments of the secular press of America in regard to the militia in several states firing on the foreign miners, Huns and Slavs. Who brought these men here? It was the mine owners, to take the place of American workingmen when battling for their rights. AU BOUT DE SON.

LARAMIE, Wyo., June 26, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Once more we are nearing the time to celebrate the anniversary of American independence. But each succeeding year fewer people will get hilarious over the rights and liberties they are enjoying. The fewer landlords the more tenants. The fewer bosses, the more wage-slaves. This may continue until there is nothing left to inspire the people to patriotism but their landlords' interests and their boarding houses. If it were not for the non-intelligent employment of the forces at the command of man, and the short-sighted selfishness exercised by men toward each other, and the absence of an equitable distribution of the necessary utilities, this would be the grandest country conceivable. Mankind has never reached a state of complete development in what we are pleased to call civilization. We are still entitled to speak of our present civilization as the barbarism of the nineteenth century. The two cobras that have been stinging at each extremity of the greatest industrial nation in the world, were the overworked and underfed at one end, and the overfed and underworked at the other. Human suffering and injustice are twin scourges; where one exists the other can always be found, and if we allow them to go hand in hand

much longer there will be nothing left for which to celebrate the anniversary of Independence day.

The Laramie fire companies will once more compete for prizes offered by our citizens on July 4, and no doubt the usual programme will once more be published soon for our entertainment. While the rank and file are getting excited over this grand occasion with training and making the necessary arrangements, the politicians are laying plans and adopting methods to catch the unsophisticated voters' vote at the next election by adopting free silver planks in their platforms. The same parties that debased silver in 1873, and again in 1893, will promise to faithfully keep their pledges (from the people). They will demand the restoration of silver to the place it occupied prior to 1873 and declare for the free and unlimited coinage of the white metal at a ratio of 16 to 1, and in the next breath reaffirm their devotion to and believe in the principles enunciated at their former national conventions, which were either opposed to the planks in their state platforms or were inserted to deceive the people. Such are the ways of the wily politicians.

After the Fourth of July races are over we will once more get down to the regular order of business, hence have more to say on other matters.

LXXXII.

LITERARY NOTES.

Two years ago the managers of the daily papers of Denver rushed into a foolish and senseless war for business, which ended in cutting the subscription rates of all the papers to so low a figure as to absolutely cause a heavy loss to all of them. It is impossible to publish a live, aggressive daily paper seven days in a week and furnish it to subscribers at fifty and sixty cents per month unless a circulation of from sixty to seventy-five thousand copies can be secured. Such a circulation for the Denver dailies is impossible until the population of the city and the state shall reach double what it is now. All newspaper men knew the heavy losses would, in time, drive the owners of the four papers to act as business men should, and put their properties on a paying basis. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been sunk in this war. The new rates established are about twenty-five per cent lower than those that prevailed before the cut, and but a small percentage above those now prevailing, yet enough to save all from actual loss. There is nothing that will make business men stop a ruinous fight so much as the approach of financial disaster. The rates by mail adopted by the three papers are as follows: *News* and *Republican*, $7.50 per year; $3.75 for six months; $1.90 for three months; one month, sixty-five cents. *The Times*, $5 per year; $2.50 for six months; $1.25 for three months; one month, fifty cents.

Among the notable and valuable articles in July *Arena* are Mrs. Helen H. Gardener's paper on "Environment: Can Heredity be Modified?" a question now being discussed by all thoughtful people; "Whittier's Religion," by Rev. W. H. Savage; "Monometalism and Protection," a masterly analysis of the tariff and financial questions, showing their intimate relation, by C. S. Thomas, one of the ablest bimetallist advocates in the country. "Occult Science in Thibet" is treated by Heinrich Hensoldt, Ph. D. "India Silver, Wheat and Cotton," by Samuel Leavitt, is another splendid presentation of the argument for bimetallism. James L. Hughes criticizes Prof. Goldwin Smith's arguments against the enfranchisement of women, and subjects that eminent scholar's domestic prejudices to the severe test of logic. "The Higher Evolution of Man," by Henry Wood, is an ethical paper of value. Mr. B. O. Flower's discussion of Japan's treaties and the subsequent legislative operations of the English and American governments, in a paper called "Justice for Japan," is a demand that the American government shall keep its treaty pledge and not play the bully, as John Bull always does, disregarding both honor and decency. Henry Frank outlines "The Crusade of the Unemployed." "How they Boomed the Elgin Street Church" is a life-like, realistic story that gives an inside view of the politics of a fashionable temple ostensibly devoted to the worship of God. Walter Blackburn Harte contributes a

story called "Awakened," a social study. It only occupies three pages, but the picture it leaves in the mind is strong and vivid. The editor, Mr. B. O. Flower, discusses "Crucial Moments in National Life" from the evolutionary standpoint, and shows that the decay of great empires has been through materialism and slavery. A civilization of luxury is a barbarism, but it is the prey of every robust race of barbarians. Prof. Thomas E. Will, A. M., describes the aims and methods of "The City Union for Practical Progress." There is a valuable symposium on "Public Parks and Playgrounds," which is of great educational value, and should be put in every aldermanic civic school.

"Vice and virtue often live very close together."

"The fig tree does not bloom but it bears fruit."

"A smart man can learn a good deal from a fool."

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UNION PACIFIC
EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

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THE LABOR ORGANIZATION AS A BUSINESS INSTITUTION.

Workmen institute labor organizations for the purpose of securing and maintaining their rights, to improve themselves intellectually and physically, and to secure the best possible return from the use of their powers. Their object is a practical business move of the highest order that man has engaged in. In their method of operation every right principle governing the relation of man to man should be practiced. It is their right and their duty to apply every legitimate power of the citizen to the protection and advancement of their object. The members are citizens of a common country, recognizing laws that are intended to apply to all, and protect all in their rights, and give redress to all wrongs. All are equally responsible for their existence, with equal powers to make, repeal or change them. No one can maintain a right under them that another cannot do the same. If they place responsibilities on one, under like circumstances they will on others. If one can make their application a benefit to him, others can do the same. As Judge Caldwell said: "A corporation is organized capital; it is capital consisting of money and property. Organized labor is organized capital; it is capital consisting of brains and muscle. What it is lawful for one to do, it is lawful for the other to do." Such is but a declaration that a labor organization is a business institution, to which applies all the powers and all the restrictions that apply to men united in any other line. It is to bring the best possible result from the use of their capital—brains and muscle—by the exercise of their lawful powers. If the laws are not satisfactory, they have the same powers as an organization of money and property has to use their rights as citizens to change those laws to suit.

Too long has labor allowed their organizations to bear the appearance of being eleemosynary institutions, that should have the sympathy and consideration of the charita-

ble; that must secure their desires like a spoilt child by kicking up a fuss and be petted and sympathized with afterwards. Let them assume their rightful position as the equal of all other bodies in the body politic, applying the same lawful powers, and they will have less cause to complain of the results of their efforts. Let them realize and remember that their common opponent, the corporations, can secure no more support from governmental powers than they can; that there is not a position that the corporations have assumed under the laws that they cannot also turn to their advantage. If the corporations, under the interstate commerce law, have taken advantage of its provisions to suppress strikes by governmental powers, let labor remember that strikes are not a necessary weapon. Let them demand the same protection under the same law. Turn the supposed advantage to the corporation in their own favor. Pay no attention to the demagogues who cry that the judiciary will give you no attention. Try it and see. Public opinion is the most powerful supporter in such matters, and remember you have a large part in the making of the judiciary.

Under a right system of government neither a corporation nor a labor organization would have a legitimate place. The government itself would be the organization through which every individual citizen secured everything to his advantage. But governments can be no better than the people who make them, and separate organization of one portion of the body politic for selfish ends demands from others similar steps to sustain them from the selfish motives of their fellow citizens. This class of competition in time must bring about a different method, but so long as there are large numbers of the people who will resort to combination for selfish ends, so long will other parts be obliged to even matters by competing with like methods.

The present generation, for the time being at least, must, for defensive purposes, utilize this power of combination. And there is no part of the people that needs such means of better protecting their capital than those whose capital consists of brains and muscle, which, to be realized on, must be utilized every day, must be exchanged for money or products —those to whom the return on the investment of the capital is called wages.

Quite as much carefulness in the management of their affairs is needed as the organization which owns and directs the operation of a railroad requires for success; quite as much thought as to what will result in the future as the corporation that causes the manufacture of a large stock of goods for future sale, and have far more need of interesting themselves in who will fill the various branches of the gov-

ernment and what laws shall be enacted.

As commonly regarded, the labor organization has not had such features. Its membership has generally been regarded as a sort of a side class, incidental to society, but not being the real people, and the membership has acted often in a way to give that impression. They have had a class of recognizers, who are known by their telling how they *sympathized* with labor, buying tickets to their balls and picnics and putting their names on the subscription list for the aid of strikes, etc., much as they would a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. And it is in such a nature they regard them, and, sad to say, the organization often gives reason for such an impression.

Labor is the equal of wealth, and in reality the superior, as it is the creator of wealth. The reason it does not occupy its true place in society is because those who labor have not exercised the same faculties in guarding and protecting its interests as have those who absorb the product of labor. The affairs of wealth have been looked after systematically. Rarely for the lack of attention and support have they made failures. They have seen to it that all matters of detail and management were in the hands of the best ability they could employ or they had in their organization. They judge by the results; personality has had little to do with it. They have never allowed themselves to be divided over any differences in religion, nationality or the line of business they were in. The object for which they were organized was given the full support. It was a business necessity that they did so.

Is it not equally as true in the union of the capital of brains and muscle? Can real success be hoped for in immediate, material affairs if the same legitimate business rules and principles are not practiced? Wherever labor organized has, even in a slight degree, made efforts on such lines, taking up in a fair, business-like way matters pertaining to the interests of its members, has there not always been results, and have not those results been retained in proportion as they have followed up those lines of action? If they had had a large membership, and gone still deeper in the application of such methods, could not greater results have been expected? What class of organization can do as much with so small an outlay, or have ever given greater returns on the money invested?

But this lack of foresight, and the knowledge among the masses necessary to apply successfully union of effort in a practical way, has been the drawback, has made it possible for the corporations of wealth to reach the aggressive position they have attained. Men are found who will not risk an investment of a few cents a month to save many dollars a

month on the return for their labor. Common, practical sense would direct them to do so. Many such would invest ten times the amount in a lottery scheme with little hope of any return.

Let workingmen, who have to invest skill and muscle—and which stock in trade must be realized on each day or that much is lost—regard organization as a business proposition would be—what is to be accomplished, what is wanted, what will lead to that result, how must union of effort be applied? Just as they would if they were each investing a certain amount of wealth in any business enterprise. And can they not expect better results than has generally followed their efforts? They certainly would not expect to succeed over competitors in business if they did not make a study of the conditions that effected the enterprise they were in, nor can they expect in organizing to make their labor more profitable and their lives more pleasant—get results without study of conditions that effect them. All such is a part of the application of practical business principles to organized effort. Let every man make the attempt to have such carried out more thoroughly in the future, and labor will have less cause to complain.

WHAT ARE POLITICAL PARTIES FOR?

The present period is one that finds the people, as a whole, taking a greater interest in government than has been seen for a generation previous. It is a time when most people realize there is something wrong arising from government. There is a plenty of all the necessities of life, sufficient to supply every person, and an unlimited supply of raw material in sight from which to create more, yet there are tens of thousands standing idle in absolute need of these necessities, and they can neither take for their use what has been produced, or use their energies on the raw material and thus supply themselves. In looking for the reason why, it is found that barriers have been put up and are maintained by government; that the whole difficulty is an artificial one—man-made. Due respect for the rights of property prevents the taking of that which another claims, but the right of each to live by his labor seems to be antagonistic to what is, when something prevents the raw material from being used. The accumulation by individuals of large amounts of wealth, the surplus of the product of others, is given little attention so long as the producer can continue the production and have from it what is necessary for his own existence, but when that, too, is stopped, and yet not be able to draw on the accumulated surplus, inquiry is at once instituted as to why this is.

The discovery by any person that it is all a matter of law, of the use of government, sets him at once seeking reformation in that direction. He wishes to apply his power as a citizen to aid such a result. A collection of such persons with a common idea as to what ought to be done constitutes a political party. It declares its principles to all the people—those changes that it wishes to make in government. If everyone were satisfied with conditions as they are, of the results arising from government, there would be no reason for a political party to exist. As soon as someone wants a change, there is created at once two parties, one who wants a change and one who wants things to remain as they are. One only can be a party of reform. The one that wishes to change, to *re*-form; the other must represent those who have made things as they are and want to continue them.

A political party is not a necessary feature in government; though, as things are at present, there is need for their existence. A man's activity in performing his duties as a citizen will be indicated by his joining with fellow-citizens, with whom he may in most matters agree, in some political organization. He certainly would be out of place among those with whom he did not agree, or who have ideas of government that are in opposition to his own, or with those who had brought about results that are injuring his welfare.

A Pennsylvania wage-earner could not consistently be affiliated with the same political party that Carnegie or Frick supported, nor one in Illinois with the same as Pullman acted with. Every locality will have its examples for guides.

A political party is, therefore, but an organization of citizens for the purpose of sustaining or accomplishing such conditions in government as are desired by the members. Their strength can only be known by the returns from a fair election when the voice of the people is declared.

That which will favor a class, would not be right in government. That cannot be right which will inflict a wrong on another. A law must bear equally on all. A political party, therefore, which advocates that which is not equality, ought not to be successful among a right-thinking people.

The producers of our nation have long been groaning under the effect of conditions that are made possible only because the laws give special privileges to the few, who, using those privileges, have an advantage by which they absorb the surplus products. Want and starvation are a common thing among the workers.

Attempts have been made for centuries past to overcome this by uniting, and with strength thus obtained force the other to grant better terms to them. Labor strikes have been the common weapon of force. The very use of the

method is an admission of the subservient position the worker is in. It is an open declaration of the existence of master and servant.

When one considers that everyone under our government stands on an equality as a citizen—can exercise the same power in enforcing or changing the application of the functions of government—he becomes astonished that any other method should be used to enforce right relations between man and man. To free the black man from chattel slavery caused a war first, yet finally had to be sustained by law. Why could not the war have been avoided? If every man who believed that the principle of chattel slavery was wrong had united as a political party and changed the laws, it would have ended it.

If every man to-day who has a cause to strike or is suffering from unequal conditions would unite in a political move, and as the majority exercise their right to have laws to suit them, there would be no need of any other kind of an organization. The very causes that make labor organizations a necessity could be wiped out in due time. It is to do such things that political organizations are for. What good is the right of citizenship to the starving wage-earner or mortgaged farmer if he does not use it to his own relief?

The member of a labor organization cannot consistently vote the same or maintain the same political principles as do those whom he is organized to protect himself against. He cannot be a true citizen and take no part in the carrying on of government. Not only must he vote, but he must aid in the promulgation of right principles and the nomination of men who will support those principles.

If the laws made it impossible for any man to be deprived of his natural right to natural opportunities, no corporation could own a city like Pullman, to which men would go for work on any terms laid down by the corporation. Those terms would have to be better than a man could get for himself by using his powers on material from nature's storehouses—the land and what it contains. If a man could not sell or mortgage his claim on mother earth, it would matter little what the financial laws were. He would not be destroyed by interest. Wages could not be below what a man by his labor could take direct from nature.

Whatever is demanded or needed to relieve industry can be accomplished through men meeting for that purpose in a political party. The way is already open. It is the absolute right of every person. Nothing whatever stands in the way but the blind ignorance of men themselves.

With the opportunities that are now fairly forced upon every person to learn, with every form of object lessons to

assist in acquiring the knowledge, ignorance is little less than a crime.

There is no need of making one wild rush in the direction of thus acting, and if all is not accomplished then give up. The present conditions were not the result of one election or one political campaign, but the accumulation of generations of work. And it will take time to accomplish everything or to undo what has grown in so firmly, and the sooner the work is commenced the sooner it will be accomplished.

SEEKING TRUTH.

Whenever something is seen in a condition it ought not to be, the fact is evidence that some wrongful force has been at work. We cannot see an effect without realizing that there was a cause for it. This is an age of investigation. We are not satisfied, when an evil exists, to accept it as arising from supernatural causes, or the mysterious workings of divine providence. The question "Why is it" is promptly asked by someone. There was a time when a person had to be cautious in this respect; some one in authority gave a reason and no matter how nonsensical it was, it was woe to the one who questioned the truth of it. It has been a struggle for man to free himself from that environment and exercise the liberty to investigate—to use and develop his natural power of reason. Real progress has been made only as that has been extended. It is because liberty to think and act is yet limited that social disasters, financial panics, idleness and starvation still afflict the human race. Limited partly by the disposition large numbers have inherited to bow to the will of others, to accept what such say as truth, and tremble with the fear of being condemned as blasphemers if they but hinted a doubt, it finds its examples over every subject, but more remarkably over those matters that relate to man's relations with man. Veneration is a chain on the wheel of progress. The curse of it is seen no better than in the judiciary of the land. Woe to the seeker after justice if he cannot produce a precedent in support of his claim. The tendency, therefore, is to make that important branch of the government of human relations a drag anchor to progress.

But in more common affairs it is seen. A citizen will vote a party ticket because his father voted it; will quarrel with a neighbor over differences in their creeds, and all the knowledge either has of the foundation of their belief is the fact that their parents believed in them, and perhaps differed over them.

The man who fills a certain pulpit, or what is read in a

certain newspaper, or is announced by a convention of a particular political party, gives many a man his religion and his politics; as far as those questions are concerned, he has no mind of his own. The one who doubts or advances anything new, or proposes an investigation, is regarded by such with suspicion, if not absolutely condemned.

Suggest to the average wage-earner that he should have more wages or less hours of labor for the same pay, and he will agree, but suggest that there can be no such thing as absolutely a right relation between a wage-payer and a wage-earner, and that under an ideal state of society no man could have the right to hire or hire out to another, and you will be resented at once. If it is not said it will be thought: "How in the world could I live then?" The thought does not occur to such that in a state of equality no man could be got to serve another in such a capacity. There would only be an exchange of services on equal terms, and neither could have an advantage, for such is equality.

Some people act in many matters as if they feared the truth; that it might reveal to them errors they supported, and it would put them to a great inconvenience to rearrange their ideas; or, perhaps, prefer to suffer from some evil, rather than make the effort to correct the error that is causing the evil. Such is not a natural condition. Men who act thus have something anchoring their minds. It indicates that liberty has yet much ground to gain; that something besides law and constitutions must exist to create liberty. The masses have nothing, governmental in its nature, restricting them. The American citizens can totally change their constitution if they desire, and in a peaceful way. They can make any changes in the statutes that they may feel will relieve them. They can come together and discuss every question and agree on what is needed. This is not done in any great proportion. It certainly is not because liberty is denied by any power over them. It must be from something inherent in themselves. A man, to utilize the liberty it is possible for him to enjoy, must be cut loose from any anchors that may bind him, no matter how insignificant he may consider them. In seeking truth he must have no fears that the road he may be called on to travel may cause him to ride over anything he holds in veneration. Such a man will know *why* he advocates certain principles. He will advocate nothing he cannot give the *why* for.

There is little hope for social improvement until a majority at least reach that plane. The earnest few who are continually investigating and exposing the false in existing conditions must keep on until more are with them. Truths are being brought out, but it is a knowledge of those truths,

demonstrated to each mind by the right reasoning of that mind, that must make the practical results. It is men only who thus know a truth that will aid in putting it into practice.

We can draw no other conclusion from things as they exist than that they are just as near what is right as the people are capable of making them. That we are progressing socially can be seen, but only by comparison of periods of a generation or more. It comes as the age of investigation grows older. It is growing more every day; the number is increasing who are willing to question their own beliefs and put them to the test of an analysis to learn how close they come to the truth. Out of this there is hope for something better. Even if delay has been too long, and men in desperation attack those they believe are responsible for evil conditions, and the horrors of revolution are experienced, the amount of truth held by the masses come to the front and show their power in the rearrangement that must necessarily follow the wreck that desperate acts must cause. The wreck can be saved if enough are set seeking truths.

Why must a human being, able to work, suffer for anything that labor can produce? It is not necessary to wait for the raw materials to be created. They are already in abundance from the provident hand of mother nature. There must be some error being practiced or such a result could not be seen.

GIVE EVERY CITIZEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO HIS DUTY.

When a better state of society exists, men will know each other better. To gain a broader knowledge of each other—of the thoughts and emotions, powers and weaknesses—seems to be a necessary step to that better social condition. Some method must be adopted of concentrating the desire in man for something better, so that practical results can be brought about. Their must be a union of the people for the accomplishment of those things that are desired. Organizations without number exist, but seem to be confined principally to those things that are deemed expedients, rather than a changing of causes. The force expended for the sustaining of right has been scattered. Thousands have conscientiously believed that they were engaged in some organized effort to improve the world. That is, they have been a member, have contributed their portion in dues or other means of meeting expenses, have attended meetings. But that has been about as far as they have gone. They have expected the few enthusiastic ones to do all the practical work, discuss questions for their entertainment, study

books that give the researches of those who have made a special study of some particular question, and relate the same to them for their benefit. They have believed or disbelieved the conclusions such have laid before them as it has looked plausible to them, and have acted on their advice in proportion as they thought they would be personally benefited, or that it called for exertion on their part. If it called for much for them to do they have generally thought that someone would do it, and that ended their consideration of it. There is not a locality in the country that this condition is not seen in a pronounced way. Realizing that such was a fact, someone wrote the adage: "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." And it is often used to justify the shiftlessness of lazy people, who are ready to let someone who is willing to do their part of necessary work, and then if it is not done as they would like, they reserve the right to complain. We have got a whole nation of such people. We have a government supposed to be by the people. That is, every citizen is to take part in it—be a part of the government as well as one of those who are to be governed. We cannot speak rightly in the United States of the government in the third person, as the people under a monarchy speak of the government as something outside of themselves. Yet, what a grumbling there is now heard because this official or that has done so and so, or such a law has been passed, or has not been passed. We have simply left to others to do what we ourselves should have taken a direct part in. We have either from laziness shirked our duty, or we did not know it was our duty to take part in all such matters; discussing what was most desirable to have done, and then gone ahead with others and done it. There is no doubt but what there are many, if not the majority, who have thus been classed with the do-nothings, have been so classed simply because of igorance. The opportunity to learn different has been limited, and the existing environments such as to propagate ignorance.

One of the factors, it appears, in continuing this condition has been the size of the organizations through which individuals have attempted to apply their efforts, or with good intent to do their part have connected themselves with.

The larger the body the less opportunity is there for the average member to take an individual part. A few do all the talking, propose the steps to be taken, and then go ahead. Such is the condition a political party degenerates to, no matter how near the people it is intended to be kept when started, or how much it demands of each individual member when started, or how worthy its principles; as it grows large there is invariably seen the work centralizing on a few, and

finally a corrupt few in caucus together manipulate its affairs, with the result that the majority, who are of the "let-the-other-fellows-do-the-work" kind, find themselves duped, or disappointed over results of their political efforts. The size of the organization has made it difficult for all to take part if they had been so disposed, the comparative few who are willing most often to do the work for what is in it, have usually gone ahead and looked out in the meantime for themselves, and generally, finally settles down to a forgetfulness of the principles to be advanced, and a scramble to divide the spoils.

It is evedent that if the government is to be made really what it was intended to be, some other plan of carrying on its affairs must be devised which will make it practically impossible for the few to be either compelled to do the work or it be left undone, or seek to do it for the gains to be had. Some way must be provided that will directly impose a duty on each citizen and provide such a way that its preformance will be easy. In industrial organizations this same condition is shown. In them the greatest work is the creation of a higher intelligence, and more general knowledge of the causes that make the effects which the organizations seek to give relief from. Some detail work may be done by the few, but that is a small part of what is necessary for the accomplishment of the object sought.

If the organizations for industrial, social and political advancement were broken up into small organizations of not over ten or fifteen members, and each discuss and pass on every question that is to be acted on by the organization as a whole, and the result thus reached govern the whole, it would more nearly bring every question under the direct consideration of every individual, and without which there can be no government of the people, by the people. It would more nearly bring every individual member to face and decide every question in industrial affairs. Such methods of organization can be carried on at far less expense. The meetings can be at the homes of the members. Representatives from these smaller bodies can meet when necessity demands to carry the decision of the members, and see that the will of the majority thus reached is carried out. The majority in such a case is not made by the influence of the oratory of any individual powerful in its use, but through calm consideration. The nominees of a political party thus reached would certainly be the ones desired by a majority of the party. There would be little chance to hoist upon a party men that the members would only be disgraced by.

This method of organization is not a new one, but it has never been given the attention it should have. An effort is

the middle and upper classes to solve. If they shirk the responsibility they will surely hear an explosion.

This is not a pessimistic view of the future. It is a conclusion arrived at after a careful survey of existing conditions. It is cause and effect. The cause is a surplus amount of steam and the effect will be dire disaster.

Organized Labor is standing in the breach counseling patience on one side and pleading for justice from the other. The leaders of Organized Labor have urged their followers to be patient far so long that dissension and discontent are arising. If those who represent Capital do not extend an olive branch, conservatism will be dashed aside by impetuosity and recklessness and Labor will become an ungovernable, terrible mob whose only purpose will be revenge for years of oppression.

The Army of Peace, whose march along the dusky highways connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic, is now recorded in the industrial history of our country, has awakened the slumbering minds of the nation. All true Americans are thinking, and they are weighing their wrongs in the scales of justice. The trend of thought must be turned from grievances to benefits; from oppression and poverty to equal rights and prosperity, or the tension on the boiler which supplies the steam that turns the wheels of industry will become too great, and the whole world will tremble.

The two mighty giants, the two great factors of civilization, must be at peace for the welfare of humanity.

If the welfare of humanity is paramount to the accumulation of surplus wealth; if the hearts of the prosperous are not bound to Mammon by golden chains; if the simple teachings of Christ are not entirely forgotten by the pew-renters and others who profess Christianity, peace will be declared and Labor and Capital will pass through the portals of the nineteenth century with "Equal Rights to All" emblazoned on their banners.

America is not the kingdom of Midas, nor do Americans worship Mammon. It is a land of liberty and equal rights within the law.

The destiny of America is Progress, not Retrogation. Its star seeks beyond the zenith, not the dust that hides from view the decline of nations.—*The Railroad Telegrapher.*

Funding is simply robbing the people on a grand scale.—Thomas Jefferson.

The tariff question is not of as much weight as the fly on the cart wheel. The tariff is only a feint—a false pretense It is only an instrument for jugglery and tomfoolery.—Senator Ingalls in Chicago Tribune, June 18, 1889.

The government ought not to delegate this power (issuing money) if it could. It is too great a power to be trusted to any banking company whatever, or to any authority but the highest and most responsible government.—Thomas H. Benton.

The money power has piled up such an enormous debt upon mankind that it can never be paid. Now what is this money power going to do about it? It has doomed to slavery every man who will be born upon this earth for the next thousand years. What right has it over men to be born in the future? And where is the virtue of a man who will permit his children to be born in bondage. This whole business is a lie and a fraud. The human race does not rightfully owe this so-called money power gang—composed mostly of Jews who never had manhood enough to maintain a government of their own—one cent. Let this crowd of bulldozers be brought before the bar of public opinion and prove by what right the people owe them anything. What service have they performed to the human race that they should be paid enormous sums of money? Come, step up, gentlemen, let us hear what you have to say.—*Bakers' Journal.*

PROPHECY FULFILLED.

There ars few readers of the newspapers who cannot recall some of the writings of the late Don Piatt, whose pen contained vitriol and who could make the most calloused politician squirm and howl with anger. Mr. Piatt was an honest-hearted, conscientious man, although the lickspittles of plutocracy left no stone unturned to besmirch his character. He was also a firm and sincere friend of labor. In a letter to John Swinton, nearly ten years ago, Mr. Piatt wrote:

"I do not advocate anything. I think advocacy of the sort is a waste of time and wind. I feel sorry for the fiery-hearted reformers who have missions to wear their lives out in advocating reforms. They are putting their pearls, which cost a deal of hard labor to accumulate, before swine. The swine want slop, and it is aggravating to them to be offered pearls, and if they do not turn and rend the man who offers them there is no truth in the divine words of the divine reformer who was crucified by swine in illustration of what he said.

"What I tried to say was merely that a law existed in the moral world, as in the physical, which makes evils breed violence as miasma breeds fever. I do not say I advise it. I hope I am not such a fool. I might as well advise the elements to hurry up the cyclone. What I might say, or you, or a thousand with us, would have as much effect in one case as in the other. It is the law of our being, as it is the law of our atmosphere. When the hour is ripe, when oppression becomes intolerable and the masses are starving, there is a sudden uprising and a fearful storm shakes the earth.

"I say it will come, but I do not ask it, or advise it, or pray for it. Nor am I silly enough to assert that in joining hands and crying aloud we can avert it. It can be seen and read in the heavens that the storm is brewing. The same miserable relation between capital and labor that makes abject slaves of the one, and blind, stupid despots of the other, is being introduced among us. Every day, every hour, the gulf widens between the very rich and the very poor. Each hour, as it speeds by, the chains tighten on the limbs of labor and millionaires multiply."

"We are a nation of phrase-eaters," also wrote Don Piatt. "All the fruit of the tree of knowledge is canned for popular use. While we have fed ourselves on this poison indigestion, in the shape of choice apothegms labeled 'republican government,' 'free institutions,' 'equality of man,' and all that sort of rot, precisely the same system that has cursed Europe for ages—in which the many, who produce all and enjoy nothing, are slaves to the few, who produce nothing and enjoy all—is being fastened on us. Our government stimulates greed, and calls it enterprise. It favors processes that transfer the gainful labor of the many to the few, and gauges the country's prosperity by their wealth.

"The remedy for all this lies in the law governing our existence. When the string is strained beyond its strength, it either breaks or rebounds. When steam exceeds the power of the boiler then comes the explosion. When the people can no longer bear oppression, they get up in their wrath and smite.

"So far the safety-valve has been the vast domain of public lands open as a gift to labor. But the government has swung the heavy weight of incorporated monopoly on this, and the valve is closed. The great conservative power that so far has held oppressed labor to its unrequitted toil is the agricultural class—a dead, heavy, ignorant weight that has plodded sullenly on to its own ruin. But it feels, like the snapping tortoise, the coal on its back, and begins to move against the enemy.

"When the hour of retribution arrives in the United States it will not be cheerful. The way in which we got up and went at each other's throats, in the late

civil war, tells what we are when once aroused."—*The Foreman's Advance Advocate.*

COLORADO'S LABOR CONGRESS

The following address has been issued by the Labor Congress of Colorado:

DENVER, Colo., July 20, 1894.

The Labor Congress of Colorado, which has just closed its annual session in this city, was a non-partisan body, composed of men selected because they were representative, from the organizations of the farmers, Knights of Labor, railroad employes, miners and trades unionists. It met to consider the subject of relief by legislation, within the state, from some evils which have grown out of the development of our industrial system.

All will acknowledge that anxiety, hardship, suffering and despair exist, not alone in other states, but here as well, in a degree of intensity that must be considered unnecessary in a commonwealth whose great natural resources are still but slightly developed, unless it is held that the Creator has ordained those things as part of the constitution of His universe. The mind revolts from that and is confronted with the conclusion that they are the measure of man's own degree of folly. If that is true, there can be no good citizen who does not feel his portion of responsibility or who will not welcome all honest endeavor to relieve the condition of his fellowmen.

The Congress felt that it largely represented those who produce the wealth of the state, and also those who are the greatest sufferers, and, consequently, that a dispassionate statement from it of what it holds to be necessary legislation in order to relieve the people of the state, and its reasons for believing in the necessity of such legislation ought to appeal to all those who are large enough to close their senses for a moment to the clamor of prejudice or selfish interests. It felt that it had a right to the candid consideration of its views by all classes, even though those views should be finally rejected.

There is something more important before us at this time than the question if Mr. Waite is a fit man for governor or if certain Republican and Democratic politicians are gentlemen. It is the question, what shall we do to facilitate production and save to our wealth-producers a larger portion for themselves of the wealth modern invention has given them the power to create in such wonderful profusion? Beside that question, party lines, personalities and self-interest ought to sink into utter insignificance, because, with its solution, involuntary poverty will be almost obliterated from our state and the mocking paradox of an energetic people, clothed by their own inventive genius and the bounty of nature, with the capacity for almost limitless production, standing half stagnate in the midst of their opportunities, will no longer exist.

Conscious that the multitude it represented made its opinions upon this question deserving of consideration, and believing that the people of Colorado would give it, the Congress instructed its Legislative and Executive Committee to prepare this address in their exposition and support, in such a spirit as would appeal to that larger intelligence of man, which takes cognizance of the whole mass, as a brotherhood, as well as to the lesser, which considers only personal or ephemeral interests.

The Congress believed, then, that nearly all of the business stagnation and personal hardship which exists in Colorado to-day are caused here, as elsewhere, by the abnormal development of the idea that competition should be unrestricted, acting in conjunction with the changed conditions under which modern men work, this changed condition being brought about by invention and the spread of civilization.

Acting upon the theory that competition should be unlimited, men of financiering genius have so managed that they are now in positions from which they control the very fountains of wealth, and their streams flow or not as their interests dictate, and their interests too often dictate a stagnation. It is true that it is to the interest of all classes to have the general machinery of production in full activity. Transportation companies desire full harvests and active production in all departments. Upon that depends their ability to levy a tariff sufficiently in excess of cost of carriage to provide for dividends on stock and interest on bonds. But the collection of this tariff in excess of cost discourages production and so increases compulsory idleness. The coal combines of Colorado limit production in order to steady prices. They are compelled to do it in order to pay interest upon debts and give value to stock; but that course cuts with a double edge, for it restricts consumption, and that increases the idleness that necessarily follows an arbitrary limitation of production. What is true in these instances is true in all similar cases, and so while it is true that it is to the interest of all men to have general prosperity, and all men employed, the result of unlimited competition is to force a great degree of idleness, because it is to the interest of each particular capitalist, in control of a great business, to do that which compels idleness of men, that in turn, through the loss of the power to purchase on the part of the unemployed, results in more idleness. There is not a piece of machinery invented which does not intensify this evil by increasing idleness, nor a capitalist in the world, doing business for profit, though he be as magnanimous as Christ, who can prevent it, so long as there is another capitalist who will take advantage of the power his position gives him. Depression and stagnation and poverty, with its terrors and degradation, inevitably flow from any attempt to make money

by private control of any of the sources of wealth, and extreme poverty in this country was practically unknown until such control had been established by capitalists.

From this it must not be inferred that the Labor Congress would rob or wrong capital. We have all been blind worshipers of unrestricted competition, and in that have worshiped Mammon. But it does not follow that it is to the real interest of any that we should always do it.

Competition is right in its place, but as an engine in the hands of men of great talents, controlling enterprises without which society in its present form could not exist, it is and always will be a machine for crushing the life and hope and soul out of the less-greatly endowed.

The future has no hopeful sign; it is darker than the present, for it is evident that the necessities of the army of the unemployed can and will be used by employers to further beat down wages, in order to secure to themselves greater profits. The situation of our food producers is no better.

Until within a few years the farmers of our country have had a foreign market for their staples at remunerative prices. But English capital discovered some twenty-five years ago that there was a profit in exploiting the field laborers of India—the cheapest labor on earth—and since that time there has been an increasing supply of cotton and food products from that country flowing into our old market. It is a thing which we are powerless to prevent. That nation teems with unemployed millions who are satisfied with a wage which will procure them a strip of cotton for raiment, the shelter of a hut, and a bowl of rice. No man will deny that the price of wheat here is fixed by its cost in the foreign market, or that that market is lost, except that our producers sell there at a figure low enough to meet the competition of this cheap labor—and that means a lowering of the standard of living in this country, and a falling scale of wages in every department of industrial activity, for the profits of the farm ultimately determine wages everywhere. A tariff tax on farm products cannot materially benefit a farmer. The destruction of the farmers' foreign market might result in building up great manufacturing interests, through the employment of workers driven from the farms, but those products in turn would, largely, have to seek a foreign market, and men would have to accept a scale of wages such as would make that market available. It follows that any hypothesis that contemplates the maintaining of the present standard of wages and living in these states must be based upon the surrender of our foreign market for both raw and manufactured products and the idea that foreign competition should be shut out from this country; but we have just seen that under our present system great masses of unemployed men are an inevitable sequence, and we know that the presence of these unemployed masses could and would be used to bear wages down to the life line.

certain that Colorado citizens must share the common fate.

In the terrible shadow of this impending doom the working people of these states have been asking themselves what can be done to avert it. Our Labor Congress has answered for Colorado—that those great resources and enterprises which touch the welfare of the whole people should in future be owned and conducted for the benefit of the people to the utmost limit that our circumstances permit, not because there is enmity to capital, but because the people can no longer afford to pay a land speculator's profit, an unjust bankers' profit, or a profit on such things as the transportation of persons, or freight, or water, or the production of coal.

We are in competition with the labor of the whole world. The unrestricted play of the competitive system in its manifestation in various forms of actual if not theoretical monopoly, forces idleness upon great multitudes of men. The farmers' foreign market is destroyed. The downward tendency of wages in consequence of these conditions is as irresistible as the movement of a glacier.

We understand at last that we are in the machine which has turned out the European pauper, and though but little can be done in this single state at this time, the little that can be done we hold it our duty to do, and that little we believe must be mainly along the line just indicated.

The Congress believed that a law providing that the state should take steps to furnish employment to those thrown out of an opportunity to earn a livelihood, by the operation of a system of monopoly it has at least countenanced, under such conditions as would give them an opportunity to create for themselves the various necessities of life, would be just and in every way advantageous to the whole state, inasmuch as it would take the burden of their support off the employed. Nothing is more fatal to the character than idleness and writhing under the sense of helplessness. Under such a plan those citizens who availed themselves of it would reap the full product of their toil, less the cost of superintendence by the state, and a practical illustration of the benefits of co-operation would be given which might eventually result in a fuller application of the principle of brotherhood in the affairs of government than now seems practicable.

Bills that are as closely expressive of the thoughts advanced here as our organic law permits will be prepared by the committee of the Congress and submitted to the nominees of the political parties of the state for their approval, and all citizens who are in sympathy with the purposes of the Congress will be asked to assist in electing those nominees who are pledged to the support of the bills.

It is believed that this plan will appeal to the conscience of sympathizers so powerfully as to break down all party prejudice and make it impossible for them to vote for any candidate,

no matter what his or their political affiliations may be, who has demonstrated that he will not represent them, by a refusal to give the pledge of support.

The Congress declared in support of a constitutional convention to provide for such changes as will permit of the introduction of the initiative and referendum system of legislation and the full accomplishment of its other purposes.

The minor legislation desired by the congress is of a character so well known as to make its discussion here unnecessary. As to what has been said of the other legislation, no more has been sought than the statement of certain large facts and general principles in such a way as would bring the position of the Congress into plain outline.

The committee desires to say in conclusion, it hopes that this address will prevent the future misrepresentations of small politicans as to what the purpose and character of Colorado labor organizations really are. It was also instructed to accompany this address with an open challenge to any representative man who questions its statement of facts or conclusions, or who doubts the propriety of the proposed legislation, to meet some representative of the Congress in public discussion of the issues involved. S. W. HARMON,

Chairman Executive and Legislative Committee,
1525 South Lincoln Ave., South Denver.

EIGHT HOURS IN ENGLAND.

The forty-eight hours week has lately come into operation in all the British government works, and new regulations have been forwarded to the works.

A careful examination of these, says *Engineering*, indicates that in making the concession the admiralty have withdrawn many privileges, which in great measures counterbalanced the less number of hours worked, and by this means at least they bring the dock yards into line with the private establishments throughtout the kingdom. The men will still have the four public holidays hitherto without loss of pay; but the half holidays on the occasion of a launch, or of a visit of the lords of the admiralty, are to be discontinued. Nor will a half holiday be given for a parliamentary election, since the polling booths are now open until eight o'clock. Hitherto three minutes has been allowed the workmen to go from the yard entrance to his work every time he enters the works, which meant thirty-three minutes per week. This is discontinued, and the men must be at the pay ticket box close to their work at the time of starting. The five minutes allowed to get to the pay table is discontinued.

Hitherto an hour was granted in the morning or evening without stopping of pay in the event of urgent family affairs. No such excuse can now be accepted, while grant of leave without loss of pay to attend confirmation is also to be discontinued, and blacksmiths will not have ten minutes to wash each time they leave the works. Again, overtime pay, *i. e.*, time and extra, will only be granted after the men have worked a full forty-eight hours in the week. It frequently happens that a Saturday precedes or follows a public holiday—Good Friday, Whit Monday, etc.—and on such occasions the men used to work overtime before the holiday to make up the time to be lost on Saturday when not infrequently the machinery was running as usual. This is not to be allowed in future, even if the works are closed on the Saturday, the desire being to meet the men's demand for no overtime, except, of course, where the exigences of the service urgently require it. In this one almost recognizes an Admiralty Roland for the workmen's Oliver.

As to the hours fixed, these vary to suit the seasons of the year, the day being shortest in the winter months, seven and one-fourth hours, and longest in the summer and early autumn, nine hours. On Saturday the duration is five hours throughout the year. The earliest start is 7 a. m., and from December to March it is 7:30 a. m., and the hour of closing the work is 4:15 to 5:30 p. m., one and one-half hours being allowed at mid-day for dinner. These are the hours for Portsmouth, Chatham and Sheerness, while for Devonport and Pembroke, which are further west, they are a quarter of an hour later. The hours are for the beginning and starting of work, no allowances being made. The variation in the hours involved the readjustment of the day pay ratings to bring the

forty-eight hours pay to the same as the fifty-one hours pay; but no change is made in overtime rates, so that in the latter case the same work must be done in the forty-eight as in the fifty-one hours week to earn the same sum. The writing staff will continue to work forty-five hours, but overtime rates will only be paid after forty-eight hours has been worked, instead of after fifty-one hours work as heretofore. Enginemen, stokers, and furnacemen will work longer hours, as at present, to have the plant ready for the workmen.—*Scientific American.*

WILL IT BE A DICTATOR.

The unqualified support given Grover Cleveland by both Democrats and Republicans in his autocratic action towards the Illinois strikers and state sovereignty has made him arrogant. He has taken advantage of their support and has administered to the deliberative branch of the government a stinging rebuke that borders on the actions of a dictator. One of our local preachers prophesied two weeks ago that the probable result of the railway strike would be a governmental dictatorship, and to judge the situation by the atttiude of President Cleveland in his letter to Chairman Wilson on the pending tariff bill he assumes that roll of a dictator unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly. Heretofore it has been the custon and position of the president of the United States to act solely in capacity of an executive, but the toadyism of leading men in both old parties toward the present dictator in the White house on matters aimed to crush labor has been so servile and so speedily applied that he expects them to fall in line to laugh or smile as he may direct.

The senators doubtless will try to rebuke the president for his arrogance, but the rebuke will be a boomerang in that their action has so stultified them that he expects them to admit and accept the circumstances exactly as he sees them. If he has the right to ride rough shod over the United States constitution and the sovereignty of states and thrust armed men in a great city to man and operate the plant of an individual, or a private corporation and receive the support and applause of congress for so doing, they should not find fault with him applying screws to them in turn and dictating to them what they must do.

But what does all this amount to anyhow? Are the old parties so drunk with power that the will of the people must give away to corporation greed? Is a dictatorship to be established in the land of the free and the home of the brave? It looks at present as if power has run to riot with no one left to call the militia out.

Fellow-workingmen, it is time for you to elect your own people to government positions, and in doing so you can safely rest assured that if they cannot do better for the country than the old parties, it is impossible for them to do worse.—*Bakers' Journal.*

Liberty cannot long endure in any country whose tendency of legislation is to concentrate wealth in the hands of few.—Webster.

The bank of issue is a union of the government and the money power, a union far more dangerous than church and state.—Calhoun.

Anything that the government will receive in payment of public dues is money, and good money, no matter what its form may be.—Henry Clay.

Why compel the people to pay interest on government credit through the bank, when said credit should be extended direct to the people without interest?—Calhoun.

In the matter of woman's rights Abyssinia is far ahead of Europe. The house and all its contents belong to her, and if the husband offends her she turns him out until he is duly repentant and makes amends.

District Department.

DISTRICT OFFICERS.

D. M. W.—H. BREITENSTEIN.....Laramie, Wyo.
D. W. F.—GEORGE C. MILLER.... Rosedale, Kan.
D. R. S.—J. N. CORBIN ... .Denver, Colo.
D. F. S. and T.—W. L. CARROLL....Denver, Colo.
D. Stat.—L. J. IHM.....Omaha, Neb.

Editor and Manager of the MAGAZINE:
J. N. CORBIN.
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The office of THE MAGAZINE has been removed from room 14 to room 9 McClelland block, from the third to the second floor of the building, being a change to rooms better and more easy of access—and with less rent.

Congress has "monkeyed" all summer with tho tariff question, and some say that when they stop times will be better. Will some one explain how and why there was a panic in 1873 when there had been no tariff "monkey" business?

There are quite a large number of subscribers who are behind in their subscription. Some are out of employment and unable to pay up, but if each one who is employed will pay even part of what is due it will insure THE MAGAZINE being supported the rest of the year. This is an invitation to all who can to hand to the local agent, or send direct to this office, what they can spare on their subscription.

The question of postponing the annual meeting of the District Assembly from the first Monday in September to some date in October, or later if the circumstances seem then to make it advisable, has been laid before the locals for consideration, and all so far heard from advise this step. The continued depression in business, and events of the past month, causes the question of being able to meet the expense a serious one at present.

The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association has collapsed on account of its treasurer failing to account for the funds of the order. The switchmen ought not feel that they should remain unorganized. At Omaha they have promptly organized an assembly and attached to the district. They all will certainly be welcome with the Knights of Labor, and in the locals already in existence, where there are not a sufficent number to maintain a separate assembly.

Important elections are to be held in November. Have the masses yet awakened to the fact that it will give an opportunity to strike where it will do some good? If it is found after election that the majority allied themselves with their enemies—the Pullmans, et al., and corporations in general—it will certainly prove discouraging to the lovers of humanity. Let all remember that the panic of 1873, which first set men tramping in America, was a period when one of the old political parties was in the heighth of its power, that the panic of 1892 was when the other one had gained the ascendency. The same ideas dominate them both. Is it not time the masses came to their senses and did their own thinking, instead of being blind followers—or will they continue to dance between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum?

In many of the states the representation in the legislature is apportioned to counties or districts, from which two or more are elected. As in Arapahoe county, Colorado, there are thirteen members of the lower house elected. The party having the majority in that county gets the full delegation, and their majority may depend on a large vote in a particular part of the county. The other parts are practically unrepresented. This is unjust. The county should be divided into as many assembly districts as it is allowed representatives; then the people in all parts of the county would be directly represented. In every state where the former is law, steps should b

taken at once to have it changed so that the proportionate number of people in every locality would elect their representative independent of any other part of the county.

The splitting up of the Union Pacific system under separate receivers does not bode well for the future of the army of employes, and ought to be the means, of bringing all together closer than they ever have been in organization. There is a place for every man in some one of the orders that are now practically federated, and thus having the full support of all, makes the burdens on each light, while all have the benefit of the strongest possible protection of organized effort. The action of the Southern Pacific in making all the men whom it gives employment to agree that they will have nothing to do with a labor organization for five years is most evidently what every railroad corporation would like to do, and the only safety there is from it is to be constantly in such a position that individuals can be protected from being forced to accept such terms. It ought to be an eye-opener to all who have not been forced to face such conditions, and who are yet in a position to prevent the condition arising. No one can tell when it may be forced on him. Constant vigilance and preparation to resist it is the only safeguard. Suppose a strike on a railroad was so successful that the company made terms with the employes, and one of the terms was that the stockholders, the members of organized capital, should forfeit their stock and not take part in another organization for five years, what a cry there would be about tyranny! Yet what is the difference in principle?

Eugene V. Debs is reported as declaring that he is, on principle, opposed to strikes; that he will never again be identified with a strike, and that henceforth he will direct all his efforts toward educating workers to vote in the right way. This is a wise decision, proving the clear-sightedness and honesty of the man. The question of whether the great strike was wise has been discussed by labor leaders and economic writers; and the general decision seems to be that unless labor can be brought to act as a unit, no results which will place labor on a better footing are to be obtained through strike methods. A few labor leaders go a step higher, and declare that if labor can be brought to act as a unit, its proper cause is not to demand a higher rate of wages, but to demand its rightful place as the dominant element of society. Among those advocating the latter course are President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, and Editor Corbin, of THE UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE. Eugene V. Debs evidently takes the same sopition, and it is the only right position, the point to be decided being by what means is that demand to be made effective? Labor is the creator of all wealth, and as such should be the disposer of all wealth. At last the truth is being grasped by the labor leaders—that the wage system, even under the most favorable circumstances, is unjust, and that happiness can be secured to the worker only by the establishment of a better industrial system. To quote Mr. Corbin: "Is not the real object to be reached by labor in its struggle for a proper place in the world, the abolition of wages entirely, making itself its own master? Is there much difference in a man selling himself for ten hours each day, and selling himself to another for twenty-four hours of each day, for life? The wage-earner at present has but little prospect of finding any period of his life when he will not have to find someone to buy him for eight or ten hours of the day, which is about all the available energy or life he has to sell that can be utilized by another." This hits the nail pretty squarely on the head, and when workers can be made to clearly see this, and become educated as to the only effectual means of emanciption from their present slavery,they will intelligently organize upon correct lines, and the liberty of labor well be assured.—*Plowshare and Pruning Hook.*

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., July 16, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

I am pleased to say that THE MAGAZINE comes regularly, and it is a great treat to have it for the good news it contains from some of my old acquaintances. It is quite a change for me to be in these large cities in the east, especially on such days as the Fourth of July. It would fill this letter to tell you the grand display of fireworks and of all the fire departments, etc. But I have something of more importance to write. It might be old news to some, but it will probably be new to others. The following I copied from the *Sunday Telegram*, of Washington, D. C., of June 30:

"Speaking of the resolution recently introduced by him in the senate and adopted by that body to regulate Pullman cars, Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, in a long interview to-day said: 'I regard the Pullman company and the sugar trust as the most outrageous monopolies of the day. They extort enormous profits and give their patrons little or nothing in return in proportion. It is perfectly clear to me that there is a way to reach the sleeping car problem with ease through government legislation. States have in many instances adopted regulations intended to reduce the evil of extortionate charges on the railroads, but there are few, if any, companies that run sleepers through but one state, and thus these laws are of no avail, for no state can regulate any corporation beyond it own limits. For instance, in Ohio we make an effort to control this matter. But the railroads have always found a way to avoid the law. The United States can easily control the charges for sleepers, just as the railway fares have been regulated by means of the interstate commerce law. I believe that that act has been amply enforced without much trouble, and I can see no reason why a similar act should not be passed with reference to the sleeping car problem. A bill of a dozen lines would suffice fixing the rate per mile to be charged by these companies, and providing a penalty for overcharges. I think this abuse can be reached, and I propose to press this matter to some sort of conclusion. It seems to me that the American people have suffered uncomplainingly long enough, especially as there is a remedy at hand.'" Yours truly,

T. E. MOORE.

EVANSTON, Wyo., July 23, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

A few lines from here in regard to the American Railway Union strike may be of some interest to the employes along the road.

On June 30, at about 6:30 p. m., a telegram was received from E. V. Debs, and no sooner had it gotten into the hands of a few hot-heads than a strike was decided upon, and as a matter of fact, some were not aware of it until the morning of July 1.

The news was soon sent around that a mass meeting was to be held in the court house at 2 p. m. The meeting was called to order by the president of the union. After a few remarks had been made the strikers began to show their spirit of determination for victory.

On July 2 the fact was evident that the shops were closed against the employes regardless of any who had the desire to work.

At 10 a. m. of the same day the American Railway Union held a meeting in the Knights of Pythias hall, which was well attended. But it showed that there was some dissatisfaction among them in regard to signing the order of Judge Riner. Some of them were for it and some against it.

In the evening another mass meeting was held in the opera house. The speakers at this meeting were some of

the most prominent in the city, and the speakers on the floor admitted that they did not actually know on what basis the strike was founded, but they would advise all the citizens to guard and control themselves according to the circumstances. And to the best of my knowledge the citizens have done that, for there has been no disturbance since the strike first began.

The United States soldiers arrived here on July 9. I am informed that there are three companies, or sixty-three men all together.

The trains have been kept moving more or less since the 9th.

The American Railway Union held regular meetings until about a week ago.

I am pleased to see that some of the boys are being called in to work again—especially the last few days.

I hope that the present strike may be a warning or a lesson for the future, not only to a few, but to all those in any way concerned in railroading. Yours truly, AN EMPLOYE.

SHOSHONE, July 23, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Once more we have had pressed home upon us the truthfulness of the maxim "an injury to one is the concern of all." The strike has taught many a man the lesson that, up to this time, he had not learned—that force begets force; that the capitalist has a greater force at his command than the worker.

In the first place he—the capitalist—has the workers' job at his disposal. Discharging him cuts him off from his bread and butter—deprives him of his revenue. The capitalist controls the police force of most of the cities, the militia of most of the states, the regular army, and finally, most of the courts are in his control. As if that were not sufficient, see the cowardly way in which the capitalist's representatives in congress pass a resolution endorsing "the prompt and vigorous measures adopted by the president of the United States and the members of his administration to repulse and repress, by military force, the interference of lawless men with the due process of law." The senate and house refused to record a yea and nay vote on this resolution, even when a demand was made.

This piece of cowardly work prevented their names going on record.

In addition, the railroads of the country are combined for offensive and defensive work, supported by the enormous capital of America and Europe, for are not our railroads largely owned in Europe, as by the evidence of Mr. Mink before Judge Caldwell the stock and bonds of the Union Pacific is held by persons scattered all over Europe. In view of all this, how unwise for a young organization, but a year and a half old, to undertake to make a successful fight against the combined railway power of the United States, without even first undertaking to feel the pulse of the other numerous railway unions.

The situation and the remedy to be applied on behalf of the capitalist was given out, as reported by the Salt Lake *Tribune*, by a superintendent of the Denver and Rio Grande Western, as follows: "What we want is a strong, central government, and a standing army of one hundered thousand men, and then we would stop all this nonsense."

Is that cold-blooded enough for the railroad men of the United States?

That idea is already being taken up and advocated by the capitalistic press. The Chicago *Record* of July 20 has the following editorial:

"CLEVELAND'S USE OF THE ARMY."

"The precedent established by President Cleveland that the regular army of the United States may be used to protect interstate commerce, prevent the stopping of United States mails and enforce the orders of the United States courts against mobs of any kind gives additional importance to the regular army. The scope of its usefulness has suddenly been widened from Indian fighting to guarding the internal commerce of the country.

"Such a change in occupation will

effect some radical transformations in army practice. For one thing the size of the army will have to be increased. With a nominal force of only 25,000 men it will be impossible to keep on the frontier a sufficient force to hold the Indians in check and still have arms enough to deal promptly and energetically with such an outbreak as that recently occurring in the outskirts of this city. Our country is too large and the nerve centers, its great cities, are too numerous to admit of longer depending upon a small body of men dispersed over a remote segment of the country. Before the outbreak in this vicinity a plan for increasing the army had been drawn up in Washington, and it met with very general indorsement among members of congress. The riots of 1877 in Chicago paved the way for Fort Sheridan on the north shore.

"An increase in the size of the army will render it possible to station an efficient force of troops adjacent to each of the large cities of the country, where lawlessness is most likely to assert itself. Some of the troops came to Chicago from their station beyond the Missouri river, a locality too remote to allow them to respond with sufficient promptness in times of danger, and the cost of moving troops long distances is very large, even if adequate means to do so are convenient.

"The events of the present month have demonstrated the fact that while the local police can do much to preserve order, they may be made ineffective by mismanagement or by sympathy with the disturbing element, but with the regular army this is not likely to happen. In many quarters the belief is that our regular army should be considerably increased, and that portions of it should be quartered permanently in the vicinity of each of the large cities of the country."

Another result of the strike will be a greater development and more general use of the black list. No doubt the list is now in course of preparation by the railroads.

The most effective, least costly and most certain way for the workers to meet all this is at the ballot box. Let us leave the strike, and turn to that better remedy—the ballot. Let us effectually burry the two old parties that have been the willing tools of the money power. Let your vote be against the money power, and in the interest of yourself, your liberties, and that of Betsy and the babies. Begin with the election in November, resolve and make no mistake.

Our shop here has been closed down since July 1, and yet remains closed.

SAGE BRUSH.

POCATELLO, Idaho, July 22, 1893.

Editor Magazine:

As nothing has appeared in our MAGAZINE from Pocatello for some months, I shall try and pen a few lines, so that the boys along the line may know we are not dead or driven off of the face of the earth yet. We propose to make a hard fight this fall for a share of it—the earth. The farmer, mechanic, laborer and the merchant in Idaho have agreed to go out on a strike (not Debs' kind) at the ballot box next November. I predict the People's party will have a walk-over this fall, thanks to Grover and Oiney and the rest of the Wall street clique.

The Pocatello boys are in the middle of the road, or at least the greater majority. We have a few scabs left, and sorry to say, they were in the foremost ranks of the American Railway Union strikers. The same day they voted to continue the strike on the Union Pacific system they were in the Republican county convention voting also. Now where is the consistency? If ever there was a scab that person is one. They cast their vote on election day for plutocracy and the next day after they vote to strike against them. By doing so they vote away the ammunition and then declare war.

We vote trust combines and corporations into power and go home growl to our wives about hard times.

It is rumored that a brother Knig

in Shoshone is a prospective candidate for governor of Idaho. We wish to say, "Dave," get the nomination, and every railroad man from the engineer down will see you are elected.

As far as our assembly is concerned, it is in a better condition than it has been for some time past. New members are taken in nearly every meeting night.

As far as the strike is concerned, it did not amount to anything here, except a few very foolish and thoughtless acts, such as to order a strike after we were locked out, and getting on the switch engine and moving four Pullman cars on to another track. They did no harm to the cars or the company, but they certainly harmed themselves by doing so, and as far as I have learned, very much against the will of the majority of the American Railway Union boys. They can see the folly now, when it is too late. If they had taken the advice of cooler heads, instead of a few hot-heads and hobo switchmen, they would have fared a great deal better in the long run.

A. B. C.

ARMSTRONG, Kan., July 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The weather for the past month has been of the normal summer type.

On July 1 the shops went on forty hours a week, being idle on Saturdays.

In the iron industry of the shops here the work keeps a-breast of the men.

In the woodworking department nothing is rushing.

In all departments the men work all the time allotted to them by the company.

The wheel lathes in the machine shop have been running a ten-hour shift for the past two months—two in number. Monthly men and gang foremen get full time and are paid when sick and off of duty. I think the discrimination between the foremen and the rank and file of the men is too great. Why does the company pay these men their wages in full for the time that the shops are closed down? Simply to induce them to browbeat the men at their work. The reason is too transparent and palpably plain to the most illiterate of the wage-earners. Sooner or later these deceptive methods will prove a boomerang to the company. Why not treat every man alike if the company is financially embarrassed? Let every man working for the company share in the decrease of his wages, irrespective of position.

In the late strike the company fared well here. It had no trouble with its men, as they were all in favor of standing by Judge Caldwell's decision on the wage question. But still, when the men would come to work every morning and see their foreman stalking around their respective departments like a fish out of water, running hither and thither, with no object in view, a ten-cent two-foot rule in hand, measuring casting machinery and everything that would come within reach, it set them to thinking. Such methods of the company were not looked upon very favorably by the men, but on account of the dull times and scarcity of work the men deemed it advisable to stick to their places for the time being. It is well known among the men that some monthly foremen got their wages when off duty, while others of the same class had their pay reduced according to time lost. These matters should be straightened out, so as to give every man working for the company the same dose of medicine, as the disease is contagious.

Business on the road here is like a weather vane.

The pay of the men in the shops and on the road was delayed three days beyond the usual time. It caused a good deal of idle talk among the men and merchants. A regular pay is what is wanted.

The company has here two compressed air machines in the erecting shop. They are a marvel of perfection and a labor-saving device. They can be so manipulated to drill out stay bolts, tap out stay bolt holes, screw in stay bolts, and roll flues automatically.

There were a few men laid off in the round house during the last month. Some few blacksmith helpers quit on

pay day, but dozens ready to take their places.

The Fort Scott and Gulf shop men here were laid off three weeks during the strike and the Missouri Pacific shop men at Cypress suffered the same fate. When both shops opened their doors for work there was a certain number of their men not wanted for reasons best known to the company.

In regard to the strike of the American Railway Union and the feelings of the men at the Armstrong shops, the general sentiment among organized labor here was that the men should stand by the company and sustain Judge Caldwell's decision in regard to the wage cut on the Union Pacific. Both road men and shop men claimed that they had no grievance against the company, and none of them belonged to the American Railway Union, consequently they did not deem it advisable to put their good standing with the court and company in jeopardy, as their position before both is of a cordial nature. The men in the shops did not receive any incovenience from the strike. The company took Nos. 1 and 2 passenger trains off the road for about a week. They are through trains from Kansas City to Denver and return.

There has been some very curious phases devoloped in the past strike, as organized union men disregarded their vows and pledges of manhood both to God and man, and took strikers' places right and left—engineers, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths. I must say this much in favor of two classes of the above-named men. The firemen and switchmen showed the best pluck in the strike.

There are a great many things connected with the late difficulty between capital and labor that I would like to write about, but time and spice do not permit. You will hear from me next month on this question. I will give some names of the detestable men.

AU BOUT DE SON.

POCATELLO, July 27, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Although not a member of your organization, but a constant reader of THE EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE, I take the liberty to write a few lines for what, in my humble opinion, is one of the best, very best, labor educators published. I would not do without it for double the price. If all shopmen had taken "the" advice in years gone by they would have been better off to-day, morally and financially.

When I get settled down again I shall let you know where to send my MAGAZINE. For the present I can't tell. God only knows. If it was not for the wife and babes, it would be Washington, D. C. But I must try to get something to do. The American Railway Union (or at least a few of the members) is responsible for both me and thousands of others being out of work, and no prospect of getting another job on the Union Pacific system. I have been unfortunate enough to have been mixed up in several strikes in my twenty years of railroading, but never have been in one so foolishly carried on as the present one, especially here in Pocatello, Idaho. It is declared off now by the American Railway Union, but the receivers are still holding out. They are, in my opinion, going to give the hot-heads all the strike they want, and more too. But the innocent have to suffer equal with the guilty.

The Knights of Labor was most severely condemned for not calling out their members, but I for one, and I am not alone, am of the opinion that the Knights of Labor, as well as the road men, done just what was right and proper under the circumstances. I dare say the majority of the American Railway Union men here are of the same opinion, too, but they dared not voice it at the time.

The American Railway Union has certainly committed suicide on this system, and I am not sorry, and shall shed no tears over the corps.

Boys, let us strike this fall at the ballot box. If we cannot handle the ballot intelligently, we cannot the bullet. Yours truly, SUBSCRIBER.

DENVER, Colo., August 4, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Last month we did not make our usual report and was sorry to see that so many of the regular correspondents were equally delinquent.

The past six weeks have been exciting ones for railroad employes generally, and in some respects disastrous to the individual interests of many, but what has been a loss in this respect it is to be hoped will prove a blessing in the future, making more men students of the causes that effect them, and how they can be best reached, never jumping into the dark.

Denver escaped the strike craze fairly well, though there were quite a large number in the total that were counted as strikers, confined principally to yard men, car cleaners, inspectors and repairers, section men and freight handlers.

The shops were ordered closed July 2, but were promptly opened when the true condition of affairs here was laid before the general manager, though only on half time for the first two weeks of July. The wisdom of keeping open is now appreciated by all.

There has not been much improvement in business yet, and while but few of those who went on strike have been given work, very few new men have been put in their places, it being made an excuse for a reduction in the force.

Generally speaking there has been little cause of complaint at this point, though in one department of the shops complaint is made that the foreman has forgotten how to talk to men under him, and treat them as men should be.

The South Park is to be cut off from the Union Pacific system, and it is expected that there will be a renewed attempt to reduce wages on that division. Why the Park road should do so much less business than other mountain roads, and consequently have an excuse why wages equal with other roads cannot be paid, is a question asked by many now-a-days. If a new administration should increase its business, it will look as if it was intended that as little as possible be done. If the proper steps are taken by the employes, there is no reason why they should have their pay cut. They will be paid only for what they do, anyway.

The coming month will see the political pot begin to boil, and it will be a time when the masses should begin to put in practice what they have been advocating in theory. Certain principles must be advanced, and men then sought in whom the carrying out of those principles can be intrusted. Men who set themselves up as candidates, or use the power of the political position they are already in, are generally poor material to intrust principles that are intended to make a government by its people. Some of our present state officials have already overdone the "get the nomination at any cost" business.

In spite of all organizations on social and industrial lines that are afloat, there are many inquiries for Knights of Labor organizers in this city, and already a list of fifty for a new local are ready for a charter. With all the experimenting nothing that surpasses the Knights of Labor has yet been brought forward. It is a noticeable fact that those who are seeking the order now are those who once were members and dropped out to experiment with something new. A move of this kind aught to be seen, in view of the events of the past month, all over the Union Pacific system. Personal prejudices should be buried now if they ever are to be. There is too much at stake to allow it to interfere with mutual interests. The present short time, and consequent small pay, is not expected to make life very jubilant, but if we can live at all, we certainly have more time to use in study, in thinking, and it is often the most valuable use to which we can put our time. The result aught to be that a larger number of independent thinkers are seen, and the effort of their efforts made to count in the near future, and when again a season of material prosperity comes, and all thus made better able to act in a practical matter. A fortification will be built

around men's interests that will forever prevent a return of present conditions.

XXX.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF COLORADO.

Public notice is hereby given that at the general election to be held in the several wards and precincts in the state of Colorado on the sixth day of November, A. D. 1894, there will be submitted to the qualified electors the question of amending the constitution of this state.

The authority for submitting such question is found in House Bill No. 195, which is, in the words and figures following, viz.:

AN ACT

To submit to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado amendments to article XI of the constitution of the state of Colorado.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

SECTION 1. There shall be submitted to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado, at the next general election for members of the General Assembly, for their approval or rejection, the following amendments to the constitution of the state of Colorado, which, when ratified by a majority of those voting thereon, shall be valid as part of the constitution, that is to say: Section 1 of artical XI of the constitution of the state of Colorado, shall be so amended as to read as follows:

SECTION 1. Neither the state nor any county, city, town, township or school district shall lend or pledge the credit or faith thereof, directly or indirectly, in any manner to or in aid of any person, company or corporation, public or private, or for any amount or for any purpose whatever, or become responsible for any debt, contract or liability, to any person, company or corporation, public or private, in or out of the state; Provided, That the limitations of this section shall not apply to the guaranty by any such county, city or town of bonds or warrants issued in the construction of local improvements, and payable out of moneys to be collected by special assessments on the property benefited, but such bonds and warrants may be guaranteed in such manner and subject to such limitations as may be subscribed by law.

SEC. 2. Section 8 of said article shall be so amended as to read as follows:

SEC. 8. No city or town shall contract any debt by loan in any form, except by means of an ordinance, which shall be irrepealable until the indebtedness therein provided for shall have been fully paid or discharged; specifying the purposes to which the funds to be raised shall be applied, and providing for the levy of a tax, not exceeding twelve (12) mills on each dollar of valuation of taxable property within such city or town, sufficient to pay the annual interests, and extinguish the principal of such debt within fifteen (15), but not less than ten (10) years from the creation thereof; and such tax, when collected, shall be applied only to the purposes in such ordinances specified, until the indebtedness shall be paid or discharged. But no such debt shall be created unless the question of incurring the same shall, at a regular election for councilmen, aldermen or officers of such city or town, be submitted to a vote of such qualified electors thereof as shall, in the year next preceding, have paid a property tax therein, and a majority of those voting on the question, by ballot deposited in a separate ballot box, shall vote in favor of creating such debt; but the aggregate amount of debt so created, together with the debt existing at the time of such election, shall not at any time exceed three (3) per cent of the valuation last aforesaid. Debts contracted for supplying water to such city or town are excepted from the operation of this section. The valuation in this section mentioned shall be in all cases that of the assessment next preceding the last assessment before the adoption of such ordinance; Provided, That in cities hav-

ing a population of more than twenty-five thousand (25,000), an additional indebtedness of not more than (2) per cent of the same valuation may in like manner and by like authority be incurred for the purpose of acquiring and improving sites for parks and parkways for such city, and that the aggregate amount of such debt so created, together with the debt existing at the time of such election, may equal but shall not exceed at any time five (5) per cent of the same valuation; and, Provided, That the limitations of this section shall not apply to the guaranty by any such city or town of any bonds or warrants issued by such city or town in the construction of local improvements; but in discharge of such guaranty such city or town may purchase and hold bonds and warrants so guaranteed and be subrogated to all the rights of the holders thereof.

SEC. 3. Each elector voting at said election and desirous of voting for or against all the amendments to said article, proposed at said election, shall deposit in the ballot box a ticket whereon shall be printed the words "For the amendments" or "Against the amendments." Any such elector not desirous of voting as aforesaid may express his approval or rejection of any one or more of the amendments to said article as proposed; Provided, That he shall designate each amendment so approved or rejected by him by number as it appears in this act.

SEC. 4. The votes cast for the adoption or rejection of said amendments, or either or any of them, shall be canvassed and the result determined, in the manner provided by the laws of this state for the canvass of votes for representatives in congress.

Approved April 8, 1893.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the state of Colorado, at the city of Denver, this sixth day of August, A. D 1894. NELSON O. MCCLEES,

(SEAL) Secretary of State.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF COLORADO.

Public notice is hereby given that at the general election to be held in the several wards and precincts in the state of Colorado on the sixth day of November, A. D. 1894, there will be submitted to the qualified electors the question of amending the constitution of this state.

The authority for submitting this question is found in House Bill No. 198, which is, in the words and figures following, viz.:

AN ACT

To submit to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado an amendment to article eleven (11), section three (3), of the constitution of the state of Colorado, and to provide for the creation of a bonded indebtedness on behalf of the state to the amount of fifteen hundred thousand dollars ($1,500,000), to fund the outstanding obligations of the state.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

SECTION 1. There shall be submitted to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado, at the next general election of members of the General Assembly, for their approval or rejection, the following amendment to the constitution of the state of Colorado, which, when ratified by a majority of those voting thereon, shall be valid as a part of the constitution, to wit: Section three (3) of article eleven (11) of the constitution of the state of Colorado shall be amended to read as follows:

SEC. 3. The state shall not contract any debt by loan, or in any form, except to erect public buildings for the use of the state, suppress insurrection, defend the state, or in time of war assist in defending the United States. The debt incurred in any one year for the erection of public buildings shall not exceed one-half (½) mill on each dollar of valuation of taxable property within the state, as shown by the assessment last preceding

the creation of the debt. It shall not be lawful for any General Assembly to authorize any appropriations in excess of the actual revenue of the state of Colorado for the preceding two years, except to suppress insurrection, defend the state, or in time of war to assist in defending the United States; Provided, That in addition to the amount of debt that may be incurred as above, the state may contract a debt by loan to the amount of fifteen hundred thousand dollars ($1,500,000), to provide funds for the payment of obligations of the state outstanding at the end of the fiscal year, which terminates November 30, 1894.

SEC. 2. Each elector voting at said election, and desirous of voting for or against the amendment, shall deposit in the ballot box a ticket whereon shall be printed or written the words "For the amendment," or the words "Against the amendment."

SEC. 8. The votes cast for the adoption or rejection of said amendment shall be canvassed and the result determined in the manner prescribed by the laws of the state for the canvass of votes for representatives in congress.

Approved April 8, 1893.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the state of Colorado, at the city of Denver, this sixth day of August, A. D. 1894. NELSON O. MCCLEES,
(SEAL) Secretary of State.

The Chinese all over the United States have gone to work to organize a national political party of their own and demand fairer treatment for their race. The wild donkeys in South America have also been organized into strong herds for self-protection from wolves, and when attacked they all put their heads together, and with heels out, kick their enemies to kingdom come. It is as yet only the free American workman that hasn't sense enough to unite with his fellows.—*Bystander*.

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I am with the laboring people. We never agreed to pay bonds in gold or coin. No man can find it in the law or bonds. I will never submit to have one money for a bondholder and onother for the people. It would sink any party and ought to.—Benjamin Wade in the United States senate in 1869.

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UNION PACIFIC
EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

VOL. IX. SEPTEMBER, 1894. No. 8

WHAT OF THE MORROW?

There has been no period, as the present, in the history of the United States when so large a proportion of its citizens were anxiously watching from day to day for something better to appear on the horizon of their lives, bringing that which is necessary to the sustenance of life. Comparatively none look for anything to come as a gift; it is simply an opportunity that they desire to use the powers that are the gifts of nature within themselves. The fact that something stands in the way and prevents is the basic cause of all the anxiety, sorrow and misery that is in the world to-day. It is the want of freedom, whether it be restricted by law or ignorance.

There can be no argument whatever advanced, that is based on truth and justice, to show why a single able-bodied individual should want for the slightest thing that the hand or brain of man can produce, or that nature provides for the children of earth. The fact that individuals do suffer is a positive indication that something radically wrong exists that nature had nothing whatever to do with, but is entirely artificial, the creation of man himself.

The hope of the morrow, therefore, rests entirely in the extent that suffering mankind is ready and willing to go in destroying those artificial barriers to his own happiness, freeing himself from the enslavement of his own creation. To be able to act at all in such a direction, the man must acquire some knowledge of his natural rights, to discover where they have been infringed by the artifices of man. Reverence for anything that is, must be reduced near to the zero point.

As every member of the human family has some influence for good or bad, on the whole it is thus a demonstrated fact that every person has a duty to perform, and that the vast majority have got to do better than they have been doing. One of the most misleading and disastrous fallacies

that is spread among men is the one that aid must come from someone else besides themselves. "God helps those who help themselves" is an ever-living truth, but the idea that someone will do for us, in the commonest of material things, prevails to such an extent that thousands of men allow others to do all their thinking, and they become simply blind followers. It is not to be wondered at that they find themselves in want, stripped of the product of their hand and brain, and supplicants at the feet of the despoilers for the barest crumbs by which to sustain life. With their natural rights taken from them, and so cowardly that they would prefer to live in such conditions rather than risk a few more years of such miserable existence in a struggle to regain what is their natural right.

What a shadow is cast over the civilization of this last decade of the nineteenth century when a human being is seen who must be thankful to another human being for employment at returns that merely means an advance from the starvation point to semi-starvation! Yet, such exists and must continue until man makes different conditions. It cannot be expected to be changed by the favored ones. The hope of the morrow rests in use of the intellectual powers of the ill-favored ones.

How long can present conditions continue before there must come a total collapse of society—a tumbling down of our social structure and a rebuilding on the ruin? It is law now that is being observed. It is the effect of law that has made thousands miserable. It is a change of law that is necessary for a change of conditions. Can laws be changed quick enough? Can it be expected that the tens of thousands that have barely existed through the summer will bear the severer sufferings of winter in respect of laws that are for the protection of property? Should not quick steps be taken that there may be no lawlessness or excuse for it? Is there not this moment most serious reasons for the immediate convening of legislatures to relieve an impending catastrophy?

It is certain some expedient must be sought for and applied, or there is danger that all the horrors will be seen that were seen when the people of France were starved into rebellion. But instead of a disposition to relieve being seen by those in positions of power, a disposition is seen to stop the murmurs arising from discontent and suffering by crushing it out or smothering it wherever possible—instead of changing the laws for relief, the strengthening and strict enforcement of them—until it looks very much as if a terrible struggle would result between those who have and those who have not.

Man is the creator of all laws but those of nature, and

hence is greater than his creation—has the right to destroy when they are not suited to his welfare. It is the majority who must decide whether they are suited or not, and when the majority decide not to obey them, they become practically a dead letter. The present conditions are, in fact, creating a majority of that mind. In desperation reason becomes unthroned. The morrow may bring a storm. Screwing down the safety valve to prevent the escape of steam may cause destruction no one intended. The dissatisfied ones cannot get off the earth.

The under dogs in life's struggle, the producing masses, have, in a certain degree, organized, united in the past to relieve themselves by reasoning, legitimate means. They have been the most powerful factor for years that has appeared among men. They are needed now more than at any time in the past as a governing guide, yet, as anyone can satisfy himself by observation, they are in a weaker condition than any time in the past ten years when industrial activity was at its height; when comparatively few were idle, and as their workings are popularly considered, when the wage-earning classes had the least need of their support.

Such is a fact that is hard to explain, and yet does not it bode ill for the morrow? The resisting force that is in each individual man is alive, and that is increasing which brings it into activity. The quiet-running stream brings blessings along its course. Let it be dammed and then break forth, and destruction is carried with it. May we not reasonably fear that such is now gathering in human affairs, raising doubts and fears as to what the morrow may bring forth? Does not a day of reckoning come in all things? Why should there be seen the disposition to disregard it and to apply the spirit of revenge?

There was lately a great railroad strike. Regardless of how ill-advised it may have been, many men took part in it from honest motives. They were good law-abiding, citizens. They find the effort they engaged in fruitless, but they find a power over them relentless in its spirit of revenge. The opportunity to work is denied them. Who can say what size of a volcano is being formed in that quiet, industrious citizen, or at what moment, in conjunction with others who are suffering from similiar causes, it may break forth? May not the morrow see it? Conditions of mind of that nature, from one direct cause or another, but indirectly all from a common cause, have been forming in all parts of the land.

Does not reason direct that all who are in a position to relieve such should make haste to do so, and be prompted so to do from a selfish motive? Will it be done, is the paramount question at the present moment.

A CURSE IN OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

On September 1 the railway shops at Shoshone, Idaho, were closed, and according to the notice given the employes, permanently. The men have been given positions at other points on the system, which, in view of the common method in such cases, is a commendable act on the part of the management. The closing of these shops, regardless of whatever reasons the management may have for it, calls attention to one of the many ills that arise under our present industrial system, and which, if there were nothing else to its discredit, calls for a radical reform. It is an evil that arises purely from the system under which our industries are carried on, is common throughout the country, and can be charged to the system and not to any particular individuals. It is the logical result of a system that makes gain the object of existence.

Some years ago, in a barren sage-brush waste, a town is laid out by a town-site company on the line of the railroad. To the railroad company land is donated on which to build shops. Shops are erected and men are asked to go there and operate them. Their presence makes the land valuable. Men are induced to buy lots, build homes and bring their families there. The town-site company reap rich returns. It may possibly have been that officials of the railroad company were interested in the town-site company. If so, it would not be the first time men in such capacities were, and it is a difficult thing to know who are members of an incorporated company. These homes are builded and supplied from the earnings of the men in the shops. They represent their savings, and which are valuable only in the degree that they can be used, and that depends only on the employment the shops give. And the operation of the shops depends upon the orders of a corporation, the managers of which are a thousand or more miles away, and their actions are regulated by influences that are in no way local to the town, or even the state, in which it is situated. They are influenced solely by commercial or business influences, and such a town is considered but a dot on the map. If individual managers of a corporation felt any moral obligation to the families situated in the town, they could not show it. They do not act as individuals, but as a corporation, an artificial being created by law, which has all the rights and powers of the individual, but no conscience, and consequently no moral obligation. An individual can be the most conscientious of men, who would lose his life rather than injure a fellow being; and he can be a member of a corporation that commits all the crimes of the decalogue, and it will not phase his conscience, nor will he

be regarded as a hypocrit. Corporations are a very nice invention for the use of men who want to rob or steal for the returns there are in it, and don't want to be known as countenancing such things.

The fact that men's savings are at the mercy of what has no conscience or moral responsibility means that there is a wrong that exists. It should never be possible that such a condition could arise, but when it does arise there should be some remedy. The management of the Union Pacific recognized this in the past when the shops at Eagle Rock, Idaho, were removed and the division terminals on the Kansas division were changed and the employes in a certain degree were reimbursed for their losses, an act of justice which the management of no other corporation has ever done that we have ever heard of. What may result at present under the receivership remains to be seen, and it may depend on whether the court will construe the principle of equity as liberally as the managers of the corporation did in the past.

If, however, a corporation can, by implication at least, by establishing at a place what appears to be a permanent industry, induce men engaged in that industry to invest their savings in homes, and then destroy that industry, and consequently the homes thus established, it places men under as bad conditions as ever slaves could be. There is no possibility of their accumulating anything; and where they must pay rent, under like conditions it is always at the highest notch. In the investigation of affairs at Pullman this has been seen. There the corporation owned everything, furnishing light, water and houses, regulating the rates and rents to suit themselves, and on a basis that, no matter what the rate of wages might be, it took all that the men earned. In such cases as Pullman, it is the "pluck me" store system on an enlarged scale. At Pullman the men could not buy the property; it was not for sale. For the possibility of a man owning his home was a possibility of his becoming independent of the company.

The system of taking all that workmen earn, and keeping them in debt to the company if possible, has grown very extensively during the past decade. A manufacturing concern no longer thinks of erecting an establishment unless it can own the town in which it is located. During the past few years stove works, cotton and paper mills have been established near Denver, and under such circumstances. The companies bought land far enough out so that men could not work in the industries that it was proposed to erect and live in the city. They platted a town, reserving a large portion, put the remaining lots on the market at the speculative value they would have in proximity to the factories. The erection

of the mills was begun, and men expecting or securing employment bought the lots, paying a small amount down, paying interest on the rest. In many cases the company put up a house and sold it on time terms. The cash they received paid them back their original outlay, while they have a large capital represented in mortgages on these homes drawing a high rate of interest, quite as profitable and sure investment as the factory could be. If men did not buy they had houses to rent, and the rent was high enough to pay a high rate on the investment. Starting with comparatively nothing, they are by this method wealthy, as it has proved in most such cases, for they are common all over the country. When a considerable part is paid them from the savings of the men a wage reduction is ordered, or the factory closes for a time; men become unable to make their payments, foreclosure under the terms of the mortgage is made, it is bought in by the company at a price that just covers the amount due on the mortgage and interest, the savings are gone and a family with an ugly feeling toward mankind is turned loose. It is a legalized, systematic method of robbery, as cold-blooded as ever was committed by a highwayman. As a rule, at the start, men feel grateful to a beneficent corporation for being so liberal with them and giving them such an opportunity to be robbed. Near the suburbs of every city of importance in the land just such has been practiced and it is now, under the industrial depression, being realized by thousands—an industrial depression artificially created by the men who build such towns and their colleagues, the money-loaners. What would result if the tens of thousands who have suffered from it should suddenly seek revenge on those they believe responsible?

It is all based on what is unjust in our industrial system, which has reached that point that it is utterly impossible for a wage-earner to become independent of the employer in the slightest degree. It is slavery of a worst form, when the life of a man is considered, than chattel slavery ever was. There has got to be radical and quick changes to make life worth living at all. It is better to die in a struggle to throw it off than to live on under it. Such changes have got to be made in our laws that will make impossible such conditions. Take away the speculative value of land and it will be sorely crippled. Take away the limited liability of stockholders in corporations and make every shareholder personally responsible for every act of the corporation legally, morally and financially, and the present kind of corporations would not exist, and they never could own the men they employed as it is possible under existing conditions.

MORE THINKING AND LESS TALKING POLITICS.

A circular is reported as having been issued to the employes of the Union Pacific system, on some of the divisions at least, which reads as follows:

"On account of personal strife being engendered among employes by active participation in political matters, it has been decided to request all employes to refrain from becoming particularly identified in any way. Should any employe desire to accept a nomination for office of any kind, he will be required to resign from the service."

This is causing considerable comment, and well it might. It implies a great deal more than it reads on its face, and can be given many different constructions. The very fact that it is issued from the officials of a great railroad system gives reason to most people to give it the strongest interpretation against the employes. That the fact that they are the employes of the officials from whom the circular eminates gives those officials power to curtail their rights as citizens to discuss politics, which is the science of government, and which every citizen of the United States is in duty bound to consider. If the circular is not obeyed, it means dismissal from the service; and positively, if a citizen employe should aspire or be chosen by his fellow-citizens to public office he can expect no further employment in the railway service. There is nothing new about this latter. Men accepting nominations were held to be unable to do a full day's work and have their mind on a political office at the same time. It has always been a question as to the justice of such a ruling. For there are a thousand things a man could have his mind on rather than his work that would be more detrimental than running for an office. Falling in love, or "gettin' religion" would be worse, but a man running for office usually can find plenty to do looking after his canvas but when it comes to the prevention of the discussing of politics, there is no two sides to that. A man has no time to discuss politics when at work. As far as discussing politics outside of working time is concerned, that is positively none of the business of any employer; and it never has raised as much disturbance between men as the discussion of the differences in religion has, which in no way pertains to the welfare of the men, being an absolute waste of time. The circular is simply advisory, it is no order, and the least attention that is paid it the better, outside of the time actually in the service. No man at work has a right to use the time he is paid for in holding debates on political or any other matters, and as far as stirring up strife goes, there will be none seen any way. The only comment that is necessary is the circular is a senseless piece

of business at most, and can accomplish only the opposite of what it seems to have been intended for.

It is not so much talk that the workingman wants as it is thinking, and if all will now follow the advice of the circular, and do less talking and more thinking, there will not be much trouble as to results.

But the present anxiety for the welfare of the employes does not compare well with the Mink administration of the Colorado division a few years ago, when the shopmen at Denver were given time and a dime each to pay car fare to attend the primaries of a political party that Superintendent Mink was interested in—and it was not a workingman's party either. While it eminated from the employer side, it was, of course, not the present administration. Now there is not a workman that has got sense enough to vote at all that need be disturbed by any orders, even, as to what he shall do in politics. The sense he has will indicate to him what is for his interest to do, and he can go and do, and no one need know what conclusion he has reached, nor is it anyone's business. John M. Thurston, general solicitor (an employe) of the Union Pacific system, will probably discuss politics this fall and it will not interefere with his job in the least. Some may want to know why. The average man with horse sense will know why without asking. It will not make any difference with the other kind if someone told them.

The circular referred to makes one think that someone is afraid that if the workmen discuss politics this fall among themselves that the arguments of Thurston and others will be torn all to pieces and that the simple ones might follow the advice of fellow-workmen rather than the great orators, and it would greatly upset the plans and interfere with the wishes of someone. There seems to be nothing else that would give a reason for any cautionary circulars.

What a calamity it would be to some people if the working classes would for once discuss themselves to a point where they would all, for once, agree in politics. They might not have any reason for a strike thereafter, and that would indicate that they were using their heads rather than their bellies to direct them, and then they would be just as big and powerful as anyone else; and there might not be enough poor, starving workmen and their families left on which to let some favored ones perform the highly moral act of charity, and extend sympathy to, and there would not be half as much pleasure in having enough to have some to spare in charity.

There are a lot of people who are fearfully afraid that workingmen will get to know as much as they do, for such an event might change the relative position of the people wonderfully. Men will get more of that by quiet reading and

thinking rather than heated discussions. If all would strive in that direction from now till fall there would be no question about their being united. They would be so well agreed that there would be nothing to dispute over and thus injure the well-being of the industry they were engaged in.

There is no question but what the circular referred to will be of great benefit to the employes. It is going to make some men think that otherwise would waste their time in the expenditure of wind. Thinking men will always think themselves to a right conclusion, and as to anything pertaining to their welfare, there can be but one right, consequently the result always is to bring men closer together, rather than make strife. Let no one worry over a circular that makes men think, no matter what the real motive of it may be; the result is what is to be considered, and make good results at that. The indications are that the masses are doing more quiet, solid thinking this fall than ever before, and one might as well issue a circular changing the phases of the moon as to try and stop it. Every attempt is going to encourage thinking. Thinking will make results in time that will be discouraging to all who dictate the personal actions of others in anything, especially that pertaining to citizenship.

GUARDING OUR INTERESTS.

The appointment of separate receivers for the Denver, Leadville and Gunnison Railway (South Park), and the Oregon railway and navagation lines, parts of the Union Pacific system, has caused the employes on those divisions to again consider the question of a reduced wage scale, which it was hoped had been settled for the present by the decision of Judge Caldwell.

On the South Park the action of the new receivers has been sustained by Judge Hallett, and on the ground that the road now stood entirely upon its own resources, and wages could not be paid greater than its earnings, and if after such steps it could not pay, its affairs would be closed up and the road abandoned. He in no way receded from his former position, or in opposition to the principles involved in the decision of Judges Caldwell and Riner. The men have accepted the decision, and are making the best of the situation. The differences have caused neither side any extra loss, and the results are better than could have been expected by any other method of settling the differences; and it confirms the wisdom of the method of using the courts as the arbitrator between railroad employes and the management, on whichever side the decision may be.

The road men and telegraphers on the Oregon railway and navigation lines are contesting in the courts the action of the receiver on that road in ordering a wage reduction. The court having at the opening decided against the position taken by the employes—that the decision of Judge Caldwell was binding on the receiver—will hear the case on its merits, the employes being obliged to produce testimony to show why wages should not be reduced. The principle that we have contended for—that the courts were the proper place to decide such questions—is again confirmed by the Oregon court; and whether it be for or against the men finally, it can be no different than the method of a strike would bring, and causes none of the loses or ill-feelings that a strike invariably does.

But such methods of adjusting differences require a more thorough and higher degree of organization of railroad employes than has been in use in times past. A comparatively few men can start a strike and gain sympathetic support greater than their own number. The excitement and prejudices raised during a strike all tend to this. But the calm, deliberate presentation of a question of right or wrong before a tribunal has nothing of that nature to bring it support. It is entirely the intellectual, reasoning force that is at work, not the brutal; and to support it there must be a uniting of men on a reasoning basis, prepared at all times to use such powers in their own defense. To be sure and effective it must be a constant force. Organization cannot be created in a day that can bring into play such forces. The late strike has demonstrated that beyond a question of doubt, and if the lesson that experience gives is remembered, the defeat will finally prove the greatest of victories for labor. Similar mistakes in the future will be avoided. In making a move it is as valuable to know what not to do as what to do; the right course is taken in either event.

The reduction ordered on the Oregon division falls fully as heavy on the shop employes as any other branch of the service, yet it has evidently found them in a disorganized condition, as they do not appear to be represented in the contest that has been instituted.

The fact that they are thus situated may seriously handicap them, and to the injury of their interests in the future. What excuse have men in this age for such negligence? And will they have any reason to complain if from their own negligence they suffer? They were practically in a like condition in January last when the receivers of the Union Pacific system secured an order from Judge Dundy to reduce wages, but men on other divisions were in a different condition, and by their action the Oregon men were benefitted.

but it seems to have had no effect in their putting themselves in line, though later on they seemed prepared to join a sympathetic strike, in which they were not directly interested. It may have been that they believed they had no personal interests at stake; that those were settled forever in their favor, and required no further attention on their part. If so they must now realize their mistake, though perhaps too late to be of immediate benefit to them, However, there may be others who may take heed from them, who are liable to commit the same mistake. If so, it will not be a total loss if they avoid the mistake. For workmen to be organized for the protection and advancement of their interests no longer necessarily means to be in an open, hostile, antagonistic position against all others, but on the contrary to be on a footing to peacefully, equitably and reasonably meet all others and consider, from a basis of right and equity, any differences that may arise between such parties. To workmen it means the opportunity to mutually discuss what is to their welfare, and the proper method to bring such results. There can be no legitimate opposition by those of opposing interests to such steps, but rather have every reason to encourage it, and if there is opposition it need cause no trouble. There is an excuse for large employers of labor to oppose organizations that regard and solely use the strike, with all its consequent disturbances, to settle differences, and it must be expected that when they have the advantage they will use it against them. But the adoption of other methods is not in their behalf, but for labor itself, for the better advancement of its interests. Labor claims what is right. Right is always based on truth, and to reach the right or truth of any proposition, reason is the only way, consequently whatever brings that most into play must bring the best results.

There is no excuse worth considering that a man working for wages can offer to show why he should not unite with fellow workmen in organization. Nor can there be any time when organization is not necessary. It is more needed in times of industrial depression than when there are fewer idle men; for at such times the competition and necessities of men give an advantage to opposing interests, and one that is used to reduce wages and take other advantages from the employed which are hard to recover when conditions improve. Yet it appears as a rule that at such times the smallest numbers are found to thus act, and it but indicates the narrow view many men take of those economic questions that together make the labor problem, and why it is so hard to make permanent progress. Every period of industrial depression sets them backward, losing much of the ground they have gained, and when again taken up, time is lost in

regaining the lost ground. It is to be hoped that the present period of depression will be passed without the losing of as much ground as has been lost in times past.

If there is such losses, men can only blame themselves for their own negligence in guarding their interests. As long as the present system of carrying on industry is in force there will exist a constant necessity for united effort to protect the interests of workmen. The very nature of the system, competitive and remorseless on the under dog in the struggle demands it. To raise the method of applying such effort from a mere brutal struggle to one that brings into play the higher intellectual powers of man, has been our effort, and one we trust railroad employes most especially will adopt and maintain everywhere, and never forget for a moment that they have interests worth guarding, and that there is not a moment passes that those interests are not in danger that an ounce of prevention is better than any amount of cure; that a little from each makes a great force in the aggregate.

"A CORPORATION is organized capital; it is capital consisting of money and property. Organized labor is organized capital; it is capital consisting of brains and muscle. What is lawful for one to do, it is lawful for the other to do. If it is lawful for the stockholders and officers of a corporation to associate and confer together for the purpose of reducing the wages of its employes, or of devising other means of making their investment profitable, it is equally lawful for organized labor to associate, consult and confer with a view to maintain or increase wages. Both act from the promptings of enlightened selfishness, and the action of both is lawful when no illegal or criminal means are used or threatened. * * * In conclusion, we may be indulged in giving expression to the hope that in the future differences about wages between courts and their employes, at least, and we would fain hope between all employers and employes, resort may be had to reason, and not to passion; to the law, and not to violence to the courts, and not to a strike. It is a reproach to our civilization that such differences should result, as they often

POINTS FOR WORKINGMEN.

In an article appearing in *Humanity and Health* the writer spoke of the duty of employers to employed. In this she wishes to speak of the duty of the workingman to himself.

The working class of to-day might be free, yet they forge their own chains. Does any one really beleive it is necessary for 75 per cent. of the people to bow their necks to 25 per cent., powerful though the latter may be through the power that money gives? An article in a great New York paper in speaking of the fact that the Vanderbilt and Gould children were carried over the country in private cars, with tutors and governesses, teaching as they went, said this was the right thing to do, for these children should be taught to thoroughly know the country they were to be rulers of. And why are these children to be rulers of this country that was supposed to be freed from sovereigns over a hundred years ago, and to know no power but the will of the people? By what right, human or divine, are these children, whose sole recommendation above all other people is the prospective inheritance of money, ground by their parents from the toil of others; by what right, I say, are these children to be rulers of this country? That whole article was enough to make any revolutionary hero turn in his grave. Was it to be a country owned by a dastard money power that they freed it by such suffering from a kingly power?

The deliverance of the workingman must lie in himself. He can hope for naught from the selfishness of his employers, corporate as they are, and strong in the sense of their power through their gold. Workingmen must organize, resolve, act. The selfishness they despise in the employer they must lay aside themselves. And the first great lesson they must learn is how to vote. At present they give the money power a fresh grip on their throats at every election. Who gets nominated for office? Capitalists. Who get elected? Capitalists. Whose votes do it? Workingmen's. Could the votes of rich men elect these capitalists if the votes of workingmen were against them? Verily not. Let the workingmen attend primaries; let them put up their own candidates; let them absolutely refuse to allow the nomination of any man who is a capitalist, a member of any great corporation, or connected in any way at all with any sort of trust or with the slightest interest in Wall street. If such a man is nominated let workingmen snow him under by a million votes.

And let workingmen organize—not as engineers, not as firemen, nor trainmen generally; not as miners nor plasterers, nor any particular class of laboring men; or, if they do, let there be a close communication between every order, so close that they shall be practically one. Let them keep watch over the record of every politician, every congressman at Washington, every member of state legislatures everywhere, let them send word to every organization telling at once of each man who stands in with the money power, who is bought and sold, who votes against the laboring class, who favors trusts, and then let them, with all the power of their votes and their influence, turn down these men; kill them politically forever; send them to a deserved oblivion, and let them have no more voice in controlling the destinies of the nation they would dishonor for their own selfish ends.

Workingmen need not fear for leaders among themselves. There is no righteous cause but what the Daniel comes to judgment. There are Washingtons and Lincolns and Cromwells and Arnold Winkelreids whenever the demand comes. Organize; set aside all differences. The time has come; the man will come. Resolve that in this land of plenty, teeming with riches, with abundance that God has provided for everyone, that there shall not be any longer such a record as that which appeared in the New York papers on June 15, when on one page was the story of

Johann Kauffman, of Stockton, N. J., who killed his wife and three children and himself because of poverty and inability to get work; and George Brock, of Gordon, Ind., who, driven desperate by hunger and want of work, killed his wife and son and himself. Men and brethren, these things should not be and would not be if workingmen would arouse to a sense of their own latent possibilities, their own strength, their own power, now dormant or misapplied.

There is no use of looking to any of the present existing parties for relief; both Democrat and Republican are corrupt. Let a party arise which shall demand, and enforce that demand, for the abolition of all trusts, of all schemes of whatever sort that shall enrich the few at the expense of the many; a party which shall demand a proper proportion of the increase of wealth for the producers of that wealth. Causes seemingly as hopeless have succeeded. This, too, can succeed, and workingmen themselves can do it if they will.

It has been said to me, in regard to my former article, that because things are as they are they must be accepted and let alone; that human nature must become angelic to permit of the justice to fellow-creatures that I demand; that affairs are only made worse by stirring up thought on the subject and consequent action, and then a resulting unsettlement of things. If this be so, then the barons should never have demanded of King John the signing of Magna Charta; the French should have borne the cruel taxing of the poor and the exemption from taxation of the nobles and clergy without a protest; the bastile and the infamous letters of cachet should still be in existence. If that is so, Washington was a traitor to his duty and the revolution a mistake; the bleeding feet in the snow of Valley Forge was a mistaken sacrifice; the grand words of Nathan Hale only the vaporing of a young enthusiast; the delivering of this country from the shadow of slavery the act of fanatics. If we must acquiesce because things are as they are and human nature is what it is, and make no struggle for bettering ouselves nor our conditions, then indeed is life a farce. If it be wrong to demand juster distribution of the things of this life, to teach the unselfishness that Christ himself taught—then what is right? Where is it to be found?

Charlotte Perkins Stetson in her poem "Charity" gets off a very pertinent thing. She says:

Came two young children to their mothers shelf
(One was quite little and the other big);
And each in freedom calmly helped himself
(One was a pig).

The food was free and plenty for them both,
But one was rather dull and very small,
So the big, smarter brother, nothing loath,
He took it all.

At which the little fellow raised a yell
Which tired the other's more æsthetic ears,
He gave him here a crust and there a shell
To stop his tears.

He gave with pride, in manner calm and bland,
Finding the other's hunger a delight;
He gave with piety, his full left hand
Hid from his right.

He gave and gave, O blessed charity.
How sweet and beautiful a thing it is.
How fine to see that big boy giving free
What was not his.

—Martha Ward Gleason.

A secret vote has no more virtue than an empty shell.

The principle object of a secret ballot is to deceive the common people and seal the secret of political trades.

It is the birth right of the individual to choose a method of expression, or will power and personal responsibility contradict each other.

The way to civilize society is to keep ideas moving, and say something when you speak, rather than be so particular just how you say it.

A man who knows enough to sit down by the force of his will, is capable of voting yes or no upon any measure formulated to govern society

WHAT TO DO WITH THE UNION PACIFIC.

The Voice has the following to say regarding a settlement, by the government, with the Union Pacific, and makes, what would seem to a practical railroad man, a novel proposition. The movement of trains must be under some central control and the men engaged in the operation, maintenance under that same control. The government could operate the road by taking the place of the corporation and name the managers. The objection that the government would lose money can have but little weight, as money has been made by railroads and can be again. Why not the government? A railroad is for the use of the people; the people must pay for its use. The government in this country is the people. The people would pay for what they get. It says:

"No one would say the Mississippi river should not be cared for simply because the people must be taxed for it. The people, in taxes, simply pay for what they need and want:

"In one year more the government's mortgage on the Union Pacific railway matures. There is not the slightest possibility that it can be paid. While some handsome personal fortunes have been extracted by some means from the road, the corporation itself has not been able even to meet the interest on the government's mortgage for lo! these many years. It is a second mortgage, and, with accrued interest, it amounts to somewhere in the neighborhood of $100,000,000.

"What is to be done about it? That is the question that is agitating the Pacific coast in particular and the rest of the country in general.

"There is no use in extending the time for the payment of the debt. A railroad that cannot even pay interest, and, for that matter, never has paid interest to amount to anything during the life of the mortgage, is not a debtor that is worth while fooling with. If the government foreclose the mortgage and sell the road, the probability is that it will not bring enough to satisfy the first mortgage, let alone the second, which the government holds. If the government takes possession of the road and operates it, the probabilities are that it will lose money every year and have to tax the rest of the country to make up the deficit.

"The 'way out' is this:

"Let the government forclose the mortgage and take possession of the road. If the first mortgage cannot be extended, let bonds be issued and the proceeds used to pay it off. Let the government, then make the road a public highway in fact as it already is in law, just as the old country turnpike, the Erie canal and the Mississippi river are public highways. The govetnment does not need to own or to operate any of the rolling-stock any more than it needs to own or to operate the boats on the Mississippi or in New York harbor; though, as in one case the government now employes lighthouse keepers, so it would probably in the other case have to employ its own dispatchers and switchmen. Let it keep the roadbed in repair, as it now keeps the Mississippi in order by building levees. Let fees be charged for the use of the roadbed and stations as fees are now charged for the use of docks and used to be charged for the use of turnpikes. Let engineers and brakemen be licensed just as pilots are licensed, who have also in their keeping hundreds of lives and valuable cargoes. In short, make the road a public highway, and let any man or any company that wants to run his own locomotives and trains or wants to hire them from others be allowed the use of the roadbed and stations on paying the required fees and conforming to all necessary regulations. Let no man or corporation have any exclusive privileges, but let shippers have a chance to ship by whichever line gives the best service for the lowest price, as they now ship over waterways.

"The railways of this country must all be made in time public highways in fact as they are in law, and the Union Pacific

may well be the first to be changed in that way."

TO WHOM DO THE PROCEEDS OF TOIL BELONG?

"We stand upon the ground that the workingmen are entitled to a just proportion of the proceeds of their toil," says President Debs, of the American Railway Union. Who is entitled to that portion of the proceeds of toil to which the workingman is *not* entitled? And why is not the workingman entitled to the entire proceeds of his toil? The proportion that the workingman should yield up should be definitely settled upon, and made uniform. This plan would prevent awkward complications. Such an irregular *regime* enables a few to overfeed, while others are starving!

Why is it not as wrong for the workingman to be reduced to the necessity of imploring the robber of the toiling masses to spare his life—to spare the means of his existence—as it is for the wayfarer to be compelled to bend the knee to the bandit? Robbery is robbery, be the perpetrator Robin Hood or Pullman; yet the Pullman will turn the dungeon key upon the Robin Hood because Robin Hood's method is out of fashion. It was quite the style when the robber barons issued from their castles and demanded tribute from the passer on road or river; but that was long ago, and the bread and water, the stone floor, the barred window and the iron cot ticket persuade the holder thereof that he might as well be out of the world as not in step with it.

Heaven deliver us from this farce of hair-splitting, with the better man always getting the worst of it. If by any earthly power these two evil-doers could be arraigned elbow to elbow and the moral standing of each analyzed, we should find the sins of the off-color robber to be of the lighter hue; we should see him comparatively free from the gloze of hypocrisy with which the approved robber has beslimed himself and polluted the atmosphere. He has not sugar-coated the pill of his proceedings with chicane of argument; he has not paralyzed his victim's conscience, nor filled him with emulation of nefarious practice. The subtle things are the dangerous things, and the very nakedness of his badness is protection in compare with the ambushed vampirage which is leeching the life-blood from the starving multitudes. He has simply demanded the purse, and passed on. If he has considered the present and pressing need of his victim and returned him a portion of that which was his own, will the act abate the weight of the claim which galls his capture? "What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander," but if the approved robber grants his wage slave sufficient to meet the urgent necessities of life, he is not only unwhipped of justice, but is a lauded benefactor of his kind and wallows in respectability.

The American colored slave yeilded the effort of his life to the hand which cradled, fed, clothed, housed and buried him. The American white slave took up arms and wrested the colored man from the hand which, though it robbed him, provided for him, then stacked his musket and settled down to a fate in some respects less enviable than that of the colored slave! The day used to close upon a well fed and generally rollicking set of darkies; our sun sets upon millions of white slaves either hungry or painfully apprehenisve of the morrow.

Wake up! wake up! Become aware that robbery upon the highway should not corner all the punishment to the exclusion of chastisement for robbery upon the thousand by-ways by methods masked. Become aware of the fact that the laborer is being *robbed* in just such proportion as he yields his earnings to another; that he is, in the sight of heaven, criminal both in his submission to such enslavement, and in his willingness that such a system of bondage be entailed upon posterity!—A. T. Potter in *Plowshare and Pruning Hook.*

THE NEED OF THE HOUR.

With every department of the government under the control of corporations and the capitalistic classes, no permanent victory can come to labor through strikes. Under the recent rulings of the courts all labor strikes are criminal and revolutionary, and are just subjects for suppression by the military forces of the government. The precedent of sending the United States army to the seat of labor strikes to protect corporate interest and coerce labor into submission to the mandates of the capitalistic classes has been fully established. Tyrannical injunctions, Gatling guns and Winchester rifles are now the legalized methods of subduing labor strikes. With these facts before us, it seems that labor should turn its undivided attention to the powers that defeat it in its struggles for justice. The principal inalienable rights mentioned in the Declaration of Independence are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Then the Declaration says: "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The time to act as suggested by the Declaration of Independence has come. If not to abolish, the time has certainly come when we should alter our present form of government until it grants more protection to the citizen struggling for justice than it does to robbing combines and plundering corporations. Through the blood of labor this government was brought into existence by the industrial masses, it has been maintained and by the same forces it must be controlled. Let labor use its franchise and vote the government into its own hands and it will not only accomplish more for its amelioration than could be accomplished by a thousand years of continued strikes, but it will render strikes unnecessary by abolishing the power of greed to rob and oppress the masses.—*Knights of Labor Journal.*

HEAPING INSULT UPON INJURY.

The New York state constitutional convention rejected the Tucker amendment proposing that the question of woman suffrage be submitted to the people. This action virtually settles the fate of the woman suffrage amendment. This was expected; nothing else could be looked for from a body as absolutely owned by the capitalist interests as the capitalists own their coats. It was and continues to be a Utopian dream on the part of woman to expect emancipation from the class whose economic interests demand her subjugation and consequent degrading status. Freedom for woman can be the award only of Socialism—that movement alone on whose banner is written indelibly: "Freedom for Mankind," that, however, on top of the wrong of denying woman her rights the convention should have added insult was hardly to be expected. Refined rascals might at least have been decent.

It was an insult to woman, as gratuitous as it was blackguardly, to claim, as did Mr. Root, that the withholding of the suffrage from her was requisite to keep her sex from degradation. To insinuate that she is not capable of purity except when held up by man can be the act only of a mind steeped in depravity; to strike the magnanimous posture of upholding female decency by treating the sex as a ward is a bit of ruffianly insolence. But worst of all does this mock chivalry look when examined more closely.

Who are these who deny woman equality with man? The very paladins of the class that first levels her with the male wage slaves by driving her into the factories; who invade her home, tear her form the household duties for which they affect such delicate feelings, and lastly, not leastly, crown their long list of infamies by robbing her

of her chastity and driving her to prostitution!

Sisters of toil, turn your backs upon the polluters of your fair sex's name! Like the hero women of old, drive your husbands, sons, brothers and sweethearts to the modern field of battle—the hustings; refuse them the solace of your company unless they fight manfully, and riddle with the bullets of the Socialist ballot the carcass of the fiendish system that desecrates your lives.—*The People.*

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

The writer in an exchange on the subject of the above caption says that strictly and accurately speaking capital does not employ labor. Labor is expended because people have desires that must be satisfied and the things which satisfy these desires can only be secured by expending labor on hand. We are hungry, we must have food. Before we can have bread we must raise wheat. The miller must turn the wheat into flour and the baker changes the flour into bread. The exchanger brings the bread from where it is not wanted to where it is wanted. This is the last step in the economic process of production. Now supposing bread could be secured without labor of any kind, then labor could no longer be expended in its production. Now supposing this extended to all the things which people desire, then lobor would no longer be a factor in the production of wealth. Consequently it is the demand for consumption which really employs labor. In the light of this principle how meaningless seems most of the talk in the newspapers and magazines about the relations of labor and capital. Again and again we have seen it stated that without capital labor would starve, and if all capital were destroyed labor could not scure employment. From the principle formulated above, it is a necessary conclusion that there will always be employment for labor as long as human desires remain unsatisfied. Capital does not employ labor—its function in the economic organism is simply to aid labor. Economically speaking, it is more accurate say that labor employs capital than it is to say that capital employs labor.

Miss Florence Pullman, the daughter of George M. Pullman, after whom he named the hotel which he built and runs in violation of his charter in his sweet "Arcady" of Pullman town, is to marry an European prince—the fat, worthless and blase Austrian Prince Leopold von Isenburg-Birstein. The wealth his "American citizen" wage slaves have produced, but which he squeezed out of them, is to go to purchase a rotten limb of Hapsburg royalty. His daughter and her spawn are to riot in wealth with an European freebooter, while the "citizens" who produced the wealth rot in hovels under their "free" flag, on their "free" land.

We have often stated it; we repeat it; the fact cannot be insisted upon too strongly: "America has been reconquered; our land is a plantation; her people and her soil are there to-day for no other purpose than to support in luxury an European aristocracy; and for the doing of this dirty work those are used who prate loudest about the sanctity of the American flag and the "privileges" of "American citizenship." What King George's colonial governors were to the colonies, the American capitalists are to the people to-day. Wage slaves, be up and doing! The ballot that elected the Continental Congress which declared this land was and of right ought to be free, has to be supplemented by a new revolutionary ballot.—The People.

If the state has authority to govern the will, it does not follow that the corrupting influence of politics can create such a state.

SHARP CUTS.

"As long as there is dross in the gold it will be afraid of the furnace."

Men of character are the conscience of the society to which they belong.—Emerson.

"All true prosperity begins by seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness."

"The advance of humanity towards righteousness is due not to tyrants, but to martyrs."

You cannot dream yourself into a character; you must hammer and forge yourself one.—Froude.

"What right has any man to compel you to pay tribute to him for the privilege of being allowed to live on the earth? Don't think."

"The silver discussion has disclosed one fact very plainly. It has shown that we could do without either (gold or silver) as a money."

Nothing can be had for nothing. Whatever a man achieves he must pay for; and no favor of fortune can absolve him from his duty.—Taylor.

"The value of legal tender money is imparted to it by an act of the general government of each nation, and hence the value is always extrinsic."

Let every man be occupied, and occupied in the highest employment of which his nature is capable, and die with the consciousness that he has done his best. —Sydney Smith.

"The influence of men is not to be confined to the circle of their acquaintance. It spreads on every side of them, like the undulations of the smitten water, and will reach those whom they never saw."

"Any money that reaches the channels of trade without paying several interests on the way is not "sound" money. Nothing is sound but what pays interest, and the more and the larger the interest, the sounder the money. See?"

"The people are getting madder and madder all the time, and this is most encouraging. A few more turns of the screw will make the pressure intolerable, and then *something* will snap. Let'er snap."

"We recognize no distinction between the robbing of the wayfarer by the common thief, and the filching from the laborer of the product of his labor by the capitalistic boodler. Robbery is robbery still, whether it be committed by the outlawed thief or the inlawed institution."

"An issue of bonds in time of peace, in order to perpetuate the accursed national banks, exempting their capital from taxation, and burdening the toilers with an increased taxation to pay interest whilst more than $500,000,000 of silver is stored in the vaults of the United States treasury, is an outrage that the American people will not tolerate."

An opinion is a "vote" only when it is expressed publicly.

An honest act gains nothing by being performed secretly.

A politician who buys his glory will settle the final balance with the devil.

The man who has the courage to say yes or no has no need to vote secretly.

Public schools will produce a race of men that politicians cannot fool with.

A printing press muzzled by a mortgage is like a mad dog in the same rig, trying to bite.

It is a contradiction of the principle of voting to vote in public and be secret about it.

Even if a father is not a sovereign in the family, he is surely more so than any other man.

The representative man is a reflection from him who has not courage enough to use his own light.

Politicians will have to "move on" when the "boys" learn how their fathers were robbed of the fruits of the American revolution.

District Department.

DISTRICT OFFICERS.

D. M. W.—H. BREITENSTEIN.....Laramie, Wyo.
D. W. F.—GEORGE C. MILLER.... Rosedale, Kan.
D. R. S.—J. N. CORBIN .. ..Denver, Colo.
D. F. S. and T.—W. L. CARROLL....Denver, Colo.
D. Stat.—L. J. IHM.....Omaha, Neb.

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October 22 has been fixed as the date for the annual meeting of the district.

The employes in the Shoshone shops, which have been closed, have been given places at other points on the road.

October 1 a quarterly report is due from the locals and it should be sent in promptly this year, so that the general report will be ready for the district assembly meeting.

The subscriber who is behind with his subscription to THE MAGAZINE is reminded that what he owes can be used to good advantage in meeting the expenses of publication.

We have left a few copies of the subscription edition of T. V. Powderly's book, "Thirty Years of Labor," which we will send to any address on receipt of $1. This is below the price of the cheap edition that is now being sold. We think the book should be read by all interested in the social problems, and the books would be better in the hands of readers than stored in this office.

What was feared at the time of the strike appears to be proving true. Local officials are taking advantage of the situation to discharge men whom they had personal feelings against by charging them with being involved in the strike or sympathized with it. It seems they showed little consistency in some cases, stretching every point possible to involve some and cause their discharge, and reversing the operation in other cases. We do not beleive it is the wish of the management, and some who have been thus acting may find themselves in an unfavorable light. The truth lives a long time.

Many mechanics realize the great addition to their power that a technical education would give, but believe they have passed the age when such knowledge can be acquired, or that they have no opportunity. This fallacy keeps many a bright mind in darkness. "No one is too old to learn." There is no workman working eight or ten hours per day who cannot find an hour or more each day that he can devote to the acquirement of that knowledge he desires, no matter in what branch of the science it may be. The correspondence schools which have been established provides a home instructor at small cost. Mechanics can get much information as to how to proceed by writing the Correspondence School of Mechanics, Scranton, Pa. It is a noticeable fact that the most earnest advocates of social and economic reforms are among those who have an ambition to rise by the power that education gives them, who feel the loss most keenly of the want of opportunities when young. Every act that encourages and aids men to study is in behalf of a higher social system. It is the practical mind that moves the world. The colleges alone fail to make such. Half the drill of the college given to the man at the anvil, lathe or bench would soon change the complexion of society.

The secret ballot can be counted in secret and "sworn" to publicity, if cast publicly it would need no system perjury to give it the appearance of honesty.

It is the bright side of a man that reflects authority, but before he is obeyed the dark side should be sought when the seeker will find himself in advance of his reflector.

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

DENVER, Colo., September 1, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

If the reader be lacking in adequate idea of the area of the wholesale business section of our fair Queen City, he should, some morning, volunteer his company to the Union Pacific "walking clerk" as he winds his devious way in and about the numerous city spurs and switches of the big system, visiting all industrial and business establishments located thereon, the object being the obtaining of signatures for receipt of loaded freight cars delivered on said spurs and switches.

The writer having been temporarily detailed to the duties of the work, and having become, in a day's trip, tolerably familiar with the windings and curvings of the route, set forth one bright summer morning at that period when the fresh, filmy-like, fairy mist of early day lightly inveils town, plain and mountain, while the quiet of dawn has yet to be entirely broken by the bustle of a later hour. What better time for a tramway ride? Having chosen the north side as a starter, this mode of transit was accordingly resorted to.

As we spin along, we observe and declare: "What a conglomeration of humanity is represented on this very tramway." The capitalist, the attorney, the banker, engrossed in the columns of the morning paper; the girl stenographer, toying with a bunch of sweet peas; the more care-worn factory girl, with lunch basket; the mechanic, the artisan, the laborer with dinner bucket. A better sight is scarcely to be obtained on any fresh morning than that of the members of these latter classes apparently as eagerly absorbed in the contents of the morning press as any prominent business denizen of the "hill." This we take to be a distinctive feature of American life, and to the progressive mind what could be more gratifying?

But we cannot ride on and on through the splendor of the summer morning. There is a limit where business, work, sharply intrudes itself. And just here let us remark—we have the length of several squares to cover yet—that a man is never the worse for encouraging and entertaining healthful dreams and speculations when he finds time for them through the toilsome and monotonous day of this work-a-day world.

George William Curtis, in his delightful "Prue and I," lives an existence of the most hum-drum nature; yet, what a life is his! Endowed as it is, with blissful dreams and visions, which do his neighbor no harm and open unto him a world of happiness. The beauties of a true painting; the rapture from a good book; the splendors of nature; the hallowed glories—although he has never actually beheld them—of the old world of mythology, romance and legendary lore—all are his, making a large, full and sweet experience.

And so as we reach the Summit Fuel and Feed Company's place, first glancing at the environments of the Queen City pottery and People's Coal Company, to ascertain if any cars there loom up; although we carefully check the Summit's yard and compare with yesterday's memorandem, entering the office to obtain a receipt for the new car—yet our mind is open to other things as well.

There is, perhaps, nothing in Denver less poetic than the Platte, as it meanders beneath the city viaducts; but, taking the stream in connection with the big, barn-like interior of the fuel and feed company, where the air is laden with the sweet scent of clover and alfalfa, and numerous little tabbies are briskly playing about in the coolness of the morning, the whole suggests as we saunter along the sand of the marquis spur—oblivious of said sand, for the time being, of course—sweet pastoral New England scenes. The odors from great meadows and from

tents and having presented our book to N. L. Morey and E. L. Fox, betake ourself across the Fifteenth street bridge downwards toward the center of the city for some half dozen blocks. The cars of the Stewart Coal and Lime Company have a tendency to roam about in the big yard and can be noted in passing, while an entrance is necessary to the Chicago Lumber Company's place in order to detect strangers since yesterday. The Fisher Lime Company, the Citizens' Coal and Coke Company, the Geyserite Soap Company are checked, and we turn from Fifteenth down the joint track to the Denver Transit Warehouse No. 5, where cars of divers contents from the various roads disgorge themselves of manifold things, from a barrel of old Burgundy to a baby buggy. Passing adown the track, we approach the west side, visiting Kent & Stuchfield's mattress factory, the Colorado ammonia works, the Denver consolidated gas house, Charles Conners' paving material place, the Citizens' Ice Company, and so on up Seventh in a westerly direction. This branch of the Citizens' Coal Company, the lumber firms of C. D. Hunter, Conine-Eaton and the now silent terra cotta industry, do not detain long and, crossing the Platte find ourselves in the

... the word be allowable—a
times, chipped and chopped lan
and especially the industry its
suggest the little watery "fadder-la
the sons of Holland. The artist o
one detail in his picture. In a
spot, he should have located one of
personages seated upon a keg o
golden liquid, with jug and pip
left him half asleep in the sunshin
before seizing his brush. Not th
would insinuate that siestas are ind
in by the employes at Zang's. We
speaking merely from an artistic
point, our mind simply exercisin
speculations heretofore mentioned.

From the cool brewery we proce
our way, hot and dusty by this
down Seventh below the coal comp
office, there turning to the right
entering the stone yards of Ro
Fraser and the Denver onyx com
in whose vicinity are scattered nume
fragments which the geologist woul
scorn to examine. Kindall's fac
the Denver cement works, Bingh
lumber yard, Thurmond & Hamil
feed establishment, the Lawrence s
and Grand avenue power houses
Denver water works, the Western b
ery, etc., etc., all on the west side,
majority within a stone's throw of

the long wait for the completion of the switching—and there is no small amount of it to be done.

Luncheon hour has passed when the city is reached and with an appetite from the jaunt and ride, we devote our attention to the inner man.

Not to bore the reader with the details of the afternoon trip, let it suffice to say that the route winds about the lower portion of the city in the neighborhood of the Denver public warehouse, extends up Nineteenth and Wazee, including J. D. Best's, the Denver Beef Company, and McPhee & McGinnity's Nineteenth street lumber yard; from thence, beginning with the firms of Jacob Savagean, the Armour Packing Company, and the Halleck-Sayer-Newton, McPhee & McGinnity (Twenty-sixth street) and John Mouat lumber yards, on to Fortieth street.

The jaunt is now scarcely a dream—it is a grim reality, for old Sol's rays beat fiercely down on sand and steel and O, the refreshing coolness of a goblet of water! Delicious nectar, indeed, is the frozen artesian liquid to be found at Weigh Master Blakeley's quarters. One other cool spot, and one well worthy inspection, is the great "ice box" of the Armour Packing Company in their establishment at the foot of Twentieth street. From the torrid to the frigid zone; from sand and pavement to soft saw-dust carpeting; from the blinding glare of day, to subdued light, little incandescent lamps gleaming against a background of cleanly varnished walls. The transformation is great.

The Texas Lumber Company's yard, Fortieth street, is our omega, whereat we put up book, pencil and note book and gladly—mayhap a little stiffly—make a dash for a homeward-bound street car.

Since this is your first day, reader, and assuming that your pedestrian powers be not great, you will, doubtless, to-night, sleep the sleep of the just, and in the morning bless the invention of the alarm clock.

WILL B. NEENAN,
Freight Department.

LARAMIE, Wyo., September 23, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Nothing is being done here in shops but running, or round-house repairs. Business on the road is good and engine and trainmen are making good time. Motive power is being kept up in good shape; new engines, or those put out of shops at other points have been sent here to take the place of those sent to Omaha for repairs.

William Allen, foreman of boiler shop, is in Omaha under the care of a physician. We are in hopes that he may soon return with better health.

Business in town is improving some, as it usually does this time of the year, when everybody that can afford it is preparing for the winter.

Politics are not exciting any one but the professional politicians. The newspapers instead of discussing some of the living issues, waste valuable space in raking over the past history of some of the candidates for office. One of two things must be true. Some very bad men must be continually put up for office on the various tickets, or the newspapers are published by those to whom truth is like a foreign language.

Myron W. Reed spoke to the largest and most intelligent looking audience on the 12th of this month that was ever addressed by any one in Laramie. He spoke in the interests of the People's party, and made a lasting impression on many who never would turn out to hear any one else make a political speech.

All three parties have nominated a full state ticket. The Populists have also named their county ticket and placed on it several of our former Union Pacific employes—William Davis for county clerk, and C. J. Waechter for sheriff.

William Davis has just imported from Sterling, Colo., a traction engine with which to haul coal, wood and lumber from the plains to Laramie. He has already met with an obstacle in the way of having double the

amount of freight charged than what the agent in Colorado agreed to ship it for. The engine has not been unloaded yet, and Mr. Davis is losing valuable time waiting to have the matter corrected.

If the people will only vote as they talk the old parties will not know "where they are at," after this fall election. The only argument that the mossbacks of old party fame use since the people will no longer listen to the free trade and protection chestnuts, is that they differ with us as to what would be best for the people. If this were not so, I would have some doubt about our being right.

Wyoming is a good state. All we need to make it desirable to live here is good laws that will give special privileges to none and equal opportunities to all. I expect to remain here, and am therefore interested in the bringing about of just such conditions. With a people's government I expect to see this. Then, when the roll is called on the judgment day, and the heavens are rolled together as a scroll and the reverberations of wrecked and ruined worlds peal forth the fiat of eternal rest, I want to hang my weary bones on the galley rack of immortality and register as a man from the state of Wyoming LXXXII.

ARMSTRONG, Kan., August 22, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

The weather for the past month has been warm and dry. On several occasions the mercury in Uncle Sam's weather guide courted around the century mark and all the folks felt the effects of the heat.

The corn crop of Kansas is a partial failure on account of the long continued drought, and consequently thousands of sturdy farmers are leaving the Sunflower state in their prairie schooners to some clime more congenial to them.

There will be no plethoric railroad business for some time to come, on account of short crops and small prices for the same. It seems to me that the workingmen are more alarmed at the outlook than the railroad companies. Why do they not take the same serious view of matters before they go on a strike? The readers of the Magazine must not think that I disfavor strikes. Such is not the fact. But I would like to have money enough on hand to give every family of the striker sufficient means from week to week to keep the wolf from the door. You must have money in the treasury to combat capital. The proper labor leader has not made his appearance on this continent yet. This is strong language for a Knight of Labor, but such is the fact.

Abundance of work in all departments here. We are working forty hours a week. In the last month three machinists were discharged. One quit the service of the company. No men were hired to fill vacancies.

The pay checks came on time this month—16th of the month—and were appreciated by every one interested. There is a halt called to building new engines, and James Roberts is disconsolate on that account.

The Nos. 1 and 2 passenger trains running between Kansas City and Denver will be discontinued September 1st. A night shift of two wheel lathes commences again on the 27th inst. In speaking about the wheel lathes running a ten-hour shift in my last letter, it should say that it was a night force. Everything is running along smoothly in the shops here.

The Fort Scott shops are working their men fifty hours a week. Since the strike the Missouri Pacific shops at Cypress are working their men 50 hours a week.

John Boddington, an ex-general foreman of the Armstrong shops, reported to be worth about $50,000, is scabbing on the Santa Fe at Argentine as a machinist.

Pat Lillis of Topeka, old Bill Hayden's sucker, took Mark Whelan's place as foreman in the blacksmith shop

He is a low-lived, ignorant Irishman. Charlie Moran, Jack Gallagher, both rounders, are his henchmen.

The machinists here seem to favor scabbing, since the late strike, whilst the boiler-makers and blacksmiths expell any of their members for taking a striker's place.

You will hear from me again.

AU BOUT DE SON.

DENVER, September 10, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

As I understand the September Magazine will appear late for this month, I will try and give a few items from here this late in the month.

Nothing of importance has come up at this point since our last, though there was some apprehension just before the first of the month that the shops here were to be turned over to the Gulf receiver, and that event might complicate the interests of the employes in the shops. Nothing of the kind has yet developed, though rumors of such a move are still afloat. There has been no increase of the force to make up for the reduction caused by the strike in July. H. W. Mitchell, a machinist from Shoshone, has been transferred here, the shops at that point having been closed, and Mr. Hovey, formerly foreman at Shoshone, has been placed in charge of the round house here.

While there is plenty of work in sight that must be done some time, the disposition now seems to be to have as little done as is possible to keep things moving.

Local politics has boiled very hard the past two weeks and is still boiling. It is hard to say what is going to be the result this fall. With so many factions pulling in different directions, there appears to be danger that principles will be forgotten in the scramble for office, or in trying to get even with this faction or that. It may be to the furtherance of the principle that the people should rule, and that governments should be conducted for the welfare of the greatest number, if some of the scrappers for office should received a severe lesson this fall.

The real issue that is before the people, and the one that should have the attention of all, is between plutocracy and the producing masses, which shall rule. Shall government continue entirely in behalf of wealth, or will the rights of humanity, irrespective of wealth, be cared for? Every attempt is and will continue to be made to make side issues overshadow the main issue, to excite prejudice rather than encourage reason. XXX.

Colonel Ingersoll in a recent lecture before the Bar Association of New York, said: "As long as children are raised in tenement houses and gutters, prisons will be full. The gulf between the rich and the poor will grow wider. One will depend upon cunning and the other on force. It is a great question whether those who live in luxury can afford to allow others to exist in want. The value of property depends not on the prosperity of the few, but on the prosperity of a great majority. Life and property must be secure, or that subtle thing called 'value' takes its leave. The poverty of the many is a perpetual menace. If we expect a prosperous and peaceful country, the citizens must have homes. The more homes, the more patriots; the more virtue, the more security for all that gives worth to life. The more real education, the less crime, and the more homes, the fewer prisons."

The intelligence required for the solving of social problems is not a mere thing of the intellect. It must be animated with the religious sentiment and warm with sympathy for human suffering. It must stretch out beyond self-interest, whether it be the self-interest of the few or of the many. It must seek justice. For at the bottom of every social problem we shall find a social wrong.—Henry George, in Social Problems.

LITERARY NOTES.

The September Arena is filled with articles of interest. The number opens with a paper by Rev. Minot J. Savage on "The Religion of Walt Whitman's Poems," which will lead many to open their Whitman in a new spirit. Judge Walter Clark, associate justice of the supreme court of North Carolina, writes in favor of the election of senators by popular vote, and the limiting of the power and patronage of the president. He is, however, not in favor of electing the president in the same way, as he believes that would involve the perils of revolution with certain popular and ambitious men at the head of a presidential campaign. Charles S. Smart, an ex-state superintendent of the public schools of Ohio, makes a very damaging criticism of our school system in a paper called "Public Schools for the Privileged Few." It should lead to salutary discussion and ventilation. B. O. Flower, the editor of the review, in a paper on "Early Environment in Home Life," protests against the unwritten social code which keeps young people in a dangerous ignorance of the true functions of their bodies. Walter Blackburn Harte contributes "A Review of the Chicago Strike of '94." Thomas E. Will, A. M., and Dr. Lucius F. C. Garvin writes on "Municipal Reform, and How to Effect It." Prof. Will also furnishes a valuable bibliography of the subject for students. Dr, Albert Leffingwell discusses "An Ethical Basis for Humanity to Animals," with some special relevance to the question of vivisection and the limits of scientific curiosity. James G. Clark, a Western poet, contributes some stirring verses, "The Message of M. Lowe." A unique and interesting paper is "An Astrological Forecast of the Administration of President Cleveland," made at the moment Mr. Cleveland took the oath of office on March 4, 1893. G. L. McKean writes on "The True Basis of Money." M. Louise Mason deals with the new psychological question of "Pre-Natal Influence." Will Allen Dromgoole contributes a story, "Ole Logan's Courtship," and this, with W. B. Harte's new causerie "On Certain Satisfactions of Prejudice," represents the purely literary element in the number.

"A Story from Pullmantown" is a late addition to the increasing store of literature that is educating the masses to the wrongs that exist in our present social system. This story, in an interesting way, exposes the methods that have been carried on at Pullman. It should be read by all who want light on the dark places.

It is sold in paper for twenty-five cents, cloth fifty cents. John T. Ridge, 175 Monroe street, Chicago, Ill., is the general agent. He is one of the mechanics who was starved out of Pullman.

"American Slaves," by "One of Them," is a late addition to economic literature. It is written with a view of laying forcibly before the American people the causes of the present industrial distress. Send twenty-five cents to this office and secure the book.

"Mother, Will and I," by Milton Coit, is a story of our own day, and shows some of the possible factors of social disaster and disintegration created by our civilization. It deals with some of the ugly facts of life as they are to be seen in any of our great cities. It reveals the fearfully warping influences continually moulding and crushing all the higher ideals and standards of life, and often twisting even some of the finest and tenderest and most beautiful natures out of all recognition, hurling them in their passionate revolt against sin into the skepticism that mocks at all it formerly held sacred, and accepts the brutal laws of our society with all the fervor of the ancient Jewish law-giver. Since pity and mercy and love and

tice are mere empty words, cry these beings, made for passion, and starved into cynicism by the brutal mockery of life, then let us have an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It is all very natural, when one calmly considers it. The tigress at bay does not temporize. Those unfortunates born for passion, cannot understand our more phlegmatic amusement. Life can never be a comedy to them. It must either be a pastoral or a tragedy; it is usually the latter. For this they are much to be pitied; for the only possible serenity in life comes from that stoicism that touches tolerance for all sins and sinners. And why not, since most men, bad as they may be, are, perhaps, after all, but the pitiable victims of certain mental diseases?

In every locality can be seen characters as portrayed in this story. Pinched by the machinery of our present social system, men rise in their wrath to destroy it. This book teaches the lesson that by evolution not revolution must reforms come.

Price, paper, 50c; cloth, $1.25. Arena Publishing Co., Boston, or this office.

RAILROADS OF THE COUNTRY.

The railroads of the country are in anything but a satisfactory condition, and the revelations in the case of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe comes as a shock to the country. As we stated last week, the examination of the books by an expert discloses the fact that the income of the last four years has been made to appear $7,000,000 more than it was. Of this, $4,000,000 was paid in rebates to shippers (presumably in violation of the interstate commerce law), and other large amounts have been paid to other roads as a pooling balance, also presumably in violation of law. President Reinhart's answer is generally regarded as unsatisfactory—he does not even speak of the rebates—and he has been constrained to send in his resignaion. The road is in the hands of a receiver, which fact has led to these revelations. In truth, about two-thirds of the roads of the country are in receivers' hands and being operated by the government, a fact which should be broken very gently to those conservative people who think that anyone who talks about the government's operating the railroads (as nearly all other civilized nations do) is on the high road to populism, socialism, anarchism or some other dreadful ism. But it is difficult to see how government ownership could bring us to a worse pass than we are now. The railroads get into a controversy with their employes, and the government has to come to the rescue in behalf of the public and take a hand in the strife. The officials run the road into bankruptcy, and again the government has to come to the rescue and, through a receiver, run the road. The present anomalous condition of railways—public highways before the law and whenever help is needed, but private property in fact and whenever profits are to be divided—ought to come to an end. The Atchison is not the only system that needs ventilation. Here is what *The Tribune*, August 13, says:

"There never was a better time to inaugurate a reform. A reform which shall be radical and permanent, which shall make an end of the sharp practices by which rival managers outwit each other, violate law, rig the market, and impose on public confidence. A reform which shall forbid 'gentlemen' after entering into a 'gentlemen's agreement' from putting a premium on the traffic-managing talent that can most surely dodge the agreement and evade the law. A reform which shall take the tylers off the doors of the offices, and the fingers off the lips of bookkeepers and accountants; do away with the grips, passwords, countersigns and all the freemasonry of the craft of managers; close the 'suspense accounts,' abolish rebates and shut down on all the costly machinery of misrepresentation, concealment and evasion. A reform, in short, which will pay a fair price for honesty, instead of a premium for dexterous deception, and give to every railroad bond the credit and currency of a gentleman's word. This is possible. Why not try it?"

Whatever the competitive system may or may not have done for the world in other directions, its usefulness as applied to railroads appears from this to have come to an end.—The Voice.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF COLORADO.

Public notice is hereby given that at the general election to be held in the several wards and precincts in the state of Colorado on the sixth day of November, A. D. 1894, there will be submitted to the qualified electors the question of amending the constitution of this state.

The authority for submitting such question is found in House Bill No. 195, which is, in the words and figures following, viz.:

AN ACT

To submit to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado amendments to article XI of the constitution of the state of Colorado.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

SECTION 1. There shall be submitted to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado, at the next general election for members of the General Assembly, for their approval or rejection, the following amendments to the constitution of the state of Colorado, which, when ratified by a majority of those voting thereon, shall be valid as part of the constitution, that is to say: Section 1 of artical XI of the constitution of the state of Colorado, shall be so amended as to read as follows:

SECTION 1. Neither the state nor any county, city, town, township or school district shall lend or pledge the credit or faith thereof, directly or indirectly, in any manner to or in aid of any person, company or corporation, public or private, or for any amount or for any purpose whatever, or become responsible for any debt, contract or liability, to any person, company or corporation, public or private, in or out of the state; Provided, That the limitations of this section shall not apply to the guaranty by any such county, city or town of bonds or warrants issued in the construction of local improvements, and payable out of moneys to be collected by special assessments on the property benefited, but such bonds and warrants may be guaranteed in such manner and subject to such limitations as may be subscribed by law.

SEC. 2. Section 8 of said article shall be so amended as to read as follows:

SEC. 8. No city or town shall contract any debt by loan in any form, except by means of an ordinance, which shall be irrepealable until the indebtedness therein provided for shall have been fully paid or discharged; specifying the purposes to which the funds to be raised shall be applied, and providing for the levy of a tax, not exceeding twelve (12) mills on each dollar of valuation of taxable property within such city or town, sufficient to pay the annual interests, and extinguish the principal of such debt within fifteen (15), but not less than ten (10) years from the creation thereof; and such tax, when collected, shall be applied only to the purposes in such ordinances specified, until the indebtedness shall be paid or discharged. But no such debt shall be created unless the question of incurring the same shall, at a regular election for councilmen, aldermen or officers of such city or town, be submitted to a vote of such qualified electors thereof as shall, in the year next preceding, have paid a property tax therein, and a majority of those voting on the question, by ballot deposited in a separate ballot box, shall vote in favor of creating such debt; but the aggregate amount of debt so created, together with the debt existing at the time of such election, shall not at any time exceed three (3) per cent of the valuation last aforesaid. Debts contracted for supplying water to such city or town are excepted from the operation of this section. The valuation in this section mentioned shall be in all cases that of the assessment next preceding the last assessment before the adoption of such ordinance; Provided, That in cities having a population of more than twenty-five thousand (25,000), an additional indebtedness of not more than (2) per cent of the same valuation may in like manner and by like authority be incurred for the purpose of acquiring and improving sites for parks and parkways for such city, and that the aggregate amount of such debt so created, together with the debt existing at the time of such election, may equal but

shall not exceed at any time five (5) per cent of the same valuation; and, Provided, That the limitations of this section shall not apply to the guaranty by any such city or town of any bonds or warrants issued by such city or town in the construction of local improvements; but in discharge of such guaranty such city or town may purchase and hold bonds and warrants so guaranteed and be subrogated to all the rights of the holders thereof.

SEC. 3. Each elector voting at said election and desirous of voting for or against all the amendments to said article, proposed at said election, shall deposit in the ballot box a ticket whereon shall be printed the words "For the amendments" or "Against the amendments." Any such elector not desirous of voting as aforesaid may express his approval or rejection of any one or more of the amendments to said article as proposed; Provided, That he shall designate each amendment so approved or rejected by him by number as it appears in this act.

SEC. 4. The votes cast for the adoption or rejection of said amendments, or either or any of them, shall be canvassed and the result determined, in the manner provided by the laws of this state for the canvass of votes for representatives in congress.

Approved April 8, 1893.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the state of Colorado, at the city of Denver, this sixth day of August, A. D 1894. NELSON O. MCCLEES,

(SEAL) Secretary of State.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF COLORADO.

Public notice is hereby given that at the general election to be held in the several wards and precincts in the state of Colorado on the sixth day of November, A. D. 1894, there will be submitted to the qualified electors the question of amending the constitution of this state.

The authority for submitting this question is found in House Bill No. 198, which is, in the words and figures following, viz.:

AN ACT

To submit to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado an amendment to article eleven (11), section three (3), of the constitution of the state of Colorado, and to provide for the creation of a bonded indebtedness on behalf of the state to the amount of fifteen hundred thousand dollars ($1,500,000), to fund the outstanding obligations of the state.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

SECTION 1. There shall be submitted to the qualified electors of the state of Colorado, at the next general election of members of the General Assembly, for their approval or rejection, the following amendment to the constitution of the state of Colorado, which, when ratified by a majority of those voting thereon, shall be valid as a part of the constitution, to wit: Section three (3) of article eleven (11) of the constitution of the state of Colorado shall be amended to read as follows:

SEC. 3. The state shall not contract any debt by loan, or in any form, except to erect public buildings for the use of the state, suppress insurrection, defend the state, or in time of war assist in defending the United States. The debt incurred in any one year for the erection of public buildings shall not exceed one-half (½) mill on each dollar of valuation of taxable property within the state, as shown by the assessment last preceding the creation of the debt. It shall not be lawful for any General Assembly to authorize any appropriations in excess of the actual revenue of the state of Colorado for the preceding two years, except to suppress insurrection, defend the state, or in time of war to assist in defending the United States; Provided, That in addition to the amount of debt that may be incurred as above, the state may contract a debt by loan to the amount of fifteen hundred thousand dollars ($1,500,000), to provide funds for the payment of obligations of the state outstanding at the end of the fiscal

year, which terminates November 30, 1894.

SEC. 2. Each elector voting at said election, and desirous of voting for or against the amendment, shall deposit in the ballot box a ticket whereon shall be printed or written the words "For the amendment," or the words "Against the amendment."

SEC. 8. The votes cast for the adoption or rejection of said amendment shall be canvassed and the result determined in the manner prescribed by the laws of the state for the canvass of votes for representatives in congress.

Approved April 8, 1893.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the state of Colorado, at the city of Denver, this sixth day of August, A. D. 1894. NELSON O. MCCLEES,
(SEAL) Secretary of State.

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UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE.

VOL. IX. OCTOBER, 1894. No. 9

A WORD WITH OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

With those who have been subscribers of this MAGAZINE and readers of these pages in the past, and especially with those who have been interested in what THE MAGAZINE has represented and supported, we desire to take this opportunity to have a confidential talk.

The publication of THE UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES' MAGAZINE was commenced in February, 1886, by the organized employes of the Union Pacific railway system in District Assembly 82, Knights of Labor, as a necessary factor in carrying out the methods of advancing the interests of labor that the organization had developed and pursued during the preceding years of 1884 and 1885, which methods had for its main features the establishment of reciprocal relations between employer and employe; the use of conciliatory (being intellectual force) measures in the settlement of any differences that might arise between employer and employed. While the organization had been successful, as commonly understood, in the strike at its inception, the truth was demonstrated to those who were active in its councils that the strike was at best only a desperate expedient, encouraging only the brutal and none of the better qualities of man; that labor in the long run could expect only to have the worst of the effects of it; that it but drove further apart those who for their own best interests and that of society in general, should be on confidential terms. It had been plainly demonstrated in the differences that had arisen and the negotiations that had been had between the representatives of the employes and the employing corporation that much of the trouble between them was due to fear that existed in the minds on each side as to the intentions and motives of the other; that much of the petty tyrannies that workmen suffered under was due to the disposition of local representatives of the corporation, much of which disposition arose from the incli-

nation to imitate what they had seen others do, or had been practiced on them when they occupied a lower round of the ladder. A disposition that had in many grown to such a degree that it was actually believed that industry could not be carried on without the foreman had absolute power over the men under him, which he must constantly display to keep men in subjection to him.

To advance that such a condition was wrong in principle was always to be met with the excuse that it was a necessary evil. That it was wrong, that labor ought to make the first move to right, was plain to everyone. That to accomplish it there must be a change for the better in the disposition of both sides, and the fear of each other had to be broken down; that there must exist a better knowledge of each other and of the general economic conditions that affected all; that the labor employed on a great railway system, scattered over many states and divided by hundreds of miles, must be united, must be moved by a unity of purpose, to accomplish which there must be a better acquaintance established and by it the confidence in each other that is necessary to the establishment of a unity of purpose and its practical application; that the object of united labor should be to reach that degree of intelligence that differences that might arise or grievances that might be suffered could be settled without the strike or any of its accompanying disadvantages.

As men could not come together, some means were necessary to communicate between them, and through which the economic question affecting all could be brought to the general attention, to start into growth the intellectual powers of men. This MAGAZINE was established for such purpose. It was in the interest of employer and employe; for that which it sought to accomplish was for the mutual welfare. Its motto, "Your light shines none the less, by shining for others," expressed the hope of the intellectual power it would aid to create. A man has no less knowledge by imparting what he has to others, but he makes the other better able to co-operate with him in behalf of the common welfare. It further gave a means of exposing the petty abuses that labor suffered under in many, and was liable to in all, localities.

The exposure would call for its correction, and the fear of exposure and the consequences would act as a preventative. It has been the secrecy under which abuses have been perpetuated that have made many of them possible. To just what extent THE MAGAZINE has accomplished all that was hoped for it cannot now be estimated. That it has done much, all will agree, especially as a power in the prevention of petty abuses. What it has accomplished in leading men to a broader and more intellectual view of that which governs

their conditions will undoubtedly be better realized in the future, should it at any time cease to exist.

The history of the organized efforts of labor on the Union Pacific system, however, is, as compared to the efforts of railroad labor in general, as to wages received and rights regarded, a bright one. It has led all others in bringing results. It has set an example for the world. It has demonstrated that labor strikes on railroads are not a necessity for the best welfare of all concerned; that great obstacles can be overcome and the greatest differences between management and men settled without leaving any effects to be regretted; that the principles of reciprocity can be put into practice in the relations of employer and employe. It has brought employes to see that railroad managers were not necessarily brutes, that they were as other men and subject to the same influences. It has brought managers to admit that labor organizations were not an unmixed evil, but on the contrary could be made a powerful ally in the proper conduct of an industry employing large bodies of men; that workmen were not unreasonable in their demands, or incapable of basing their claims on justice and equity.

Just what part THE MAGAZINE has played in bringing about such results, it is not for us to attempt to say. It has been, however, one of the main features of the work of an organization that has accomplished much in that line. It was through its pages the attention of railroad employes was brought to the possibilities there were in their utilizing the courts in the maintenance of the claims of labor, and to the methods to pursue, thus to a higher plane and more on an equality with the opposition labor must meet; that the rights of labor were among the rights that governments could take recognition of.

The employes of other railway systems have organized with the view of uniting the various forces for a common interest, and with a larger percentage of the whole than has been seen at any time on the Union Pacific, but have in every instance failed; such as was true in the Wabash, Rio Grande, the Southwest system, the Reading and the New York Central organizations. Classes have united to guard their separate interests but have failed to accomplish the results seen on the Union Pacific. It has not been because they have been composed of men individually weaker, or that they have had stronger opponents. It has been entirely because of methods pursued, or have started the foundation for their work wrong.

In none of the cases of failures was there established any publication through which a unity of purpose and action could be aided, or their course laid before the world. Quite

the opposite method in all things were pursued. What might have been accomplished had other methods been pursued can only be estimated from what others have accomplished by different methods.

In face of what has been accomplished and the need there is for a continuance, neither organization nor THE MAGAZINE has received the material support due it at any time, and necessarily a decrease will come in an industrial depression that is now on the country. It has not been our policy to press subscribers for the amount due on their subscriptions, trusting to their willingness to pay when they felt most able. The consequence has been the past year we have depended for the means necessary for the publication of THE MAGAZINE on those who paid promptly and as a duty they owed that which was advocating their interests. We have reached that point where it is necessary for us to appeal to those who are delinquent in their subscriptions. We know that large numbers of such are steadily employed and can spare the small amount due as well as those who have paid. We are forced to reduce the size of this issue simply because we have not that which is due on back subscriptions—money that is needed to pay debts due for paper and the labor of printers. We consequently appeal to all who owe for their back subscriptions to pay even part to the local agent at once, or send direct to this office. This especially to those who are daily benefited by the practical application of the principles that have been supported through these pages. It is due to those who have paid in advance, that that which is due THE MAGAZINE be paid that it be kept up to its standard. Nothing is asked from anyone for that which they do not want. The highest respect is due the man who pays up his subscription and orders it discontinued, but it is not due the one who receives and then refuses to meet his obligation. One dollar is the amount due from the majority of our delinquent subscribers and there are comparatively few who can say truthfully that they are unable to pay it, yet the failure of large numbers of such, on present year amounting to over 500, means much to those who must meet the cost of publication.

We trust that no second appeal will be necessary, that the friends of this publication who have been receiving it and owe, will not delay a day but pay for that time which they already owe for—we will not ask for any part in advance at this time. Unless there is a prompt response to this appeal to you the further publication of this MAGAZINE must end—and after nearly nine years of the advocacy of the rights of labor, and keeping before the world the purposes of Union Pacific employes, it must go the way of hundreds of other publications that have espoused the cause of humanity—

starved out—while those publications which have delighted in degrading labor and belittling its efforts through organization continue and prosper. We trust that this will not be necessary. It is not in the least a personal interest of the editor more than any other individual workingman. Leaving a machine shop nearly nine years ago to take up this work, he has a concientiousness of having done the best he could for the good of fellow-workmen. The material returns have been no greater—and if anything, less—than if he had remained in a machine shop and exercised the same amount of energy. He feels that he has no cause to be ashamed of the results of his efforts, and that it has in no way lessened his ability as a mechanic, and can again take up the hammer with far more self assurance than when he took up the pen in January, 1886. His anxiety rests in the hope of the continuance of the results that have been seen on the Union Pacific system, and the further elevation of the labor question from a miserable struggle between master and servant, to one of equality between man and man—from a brutal to an intellectual plane.

WHY POLITICAL REFORMS ARE DIFFICULT.

A body of people under the absolute rule of a monarch and groaning under the tyranny practiced upon them, first move for an improved order of things by seeking to modify the power of the monarch and take some part of the power of government upon themselves, intending to use that power for their own good. Such a people would say of the people of the United States, where all the power of government is in their hands, that they should have no cause to complain of any injustice arising out of government, but should apply their power to right it—correct their own actions. But if they were told that the people of the United States made very slow work of this; that instead of the great majority of a nation of intellectual and industrious people, surrounded with the most generous bounties of nature, being happy and prosperous, with none granted any special privileges, and all standing on an equality in the exercise of their natural powers, there was widespread discontent; that millions were idle and in want for the common necessities of life; that the government, through its laws, gave the few such greater opportunities that they accumulated the wealth produced by the many, until one-half the wealth of the nation had accumulated into the hands of less than five per cent of the people, they would certainly want to know how this was possible, and would believe that there must be something wrong with the people themselves—and they would be just about right. A

stream cannot rise above its source. A government in practice will be no better than the people who form it and manage its affairs. The spirit of selfishness pervades the world; it allies itself with the noblest movements of men, hampering their progress and often dragging them down before accomplishing what set them in motion. What will bring right must be founded in right.

The reason why the American people are so far below the accomplishment of the high ideals in government that is to be expected where the people have the political power in their own hands, lies in the fact that they pay too little attention to the keeping pure the means through which they seek to act. Men unite to put in force a principle in the machinery of government, and acting as such they become a political party. As the principle becomes known and the necessity of its application becomes realized, the party gains strength; then does the real danger of the success of the movement become apparent. Offices with goodly returns to the holders appear within the grasp, then the wolf in sheep's clothing appears; then the danger comes of having the principles forgotten for the sake of the offices. Then comes forward the selfish ones to apply any means whatever to get the offices. Then corruption comes into the reform movement, conscientious men become suspicious of it, and often fail to develop the nerve necessary to expose and cleanse the organization they had much to do in creating, which is just as much a necessity to the final accomplishment of the results sought as the starting of the movement originally.

The thinking, working masses are generally conscientious in their upholding of a political movement that is for the betterment of society, and they represent the greater part of the conscience that is in the movement. But the requirements they must fulfill each day to maintain existence prevents them, in a great measure, from exercising a governing position in the organization, and it becomes, in a large measure, given over to that class who are attracted to the movement entirely by the possibilities there appear to be in it for them. The cry for reforms sought to be accomplished are but catch-words to them, that will aid to bring pie to their plates.

Never before in the history of the nation have the people been so widely impressed with the necessity for reform in government. Political organizations that have controlled its affairs for more than a generation past no longer attempt to deny the corruption that enters into the machinery of their organizations. It is realized by all, that it is such corruption that makes the ills complained of in government, and that a new party is needed only because of the

character of the people who compose such political organizations. But what improvement can be expected if men leave such organizations to come to a new, and intended to be purer, movement, and bring with them and attempt to practice the characteristics that have condemned the old?

It is quite as necessary for the good of reform that the spirit of reform be ever the guide in the practical work of those who would reform. Practice and precept must go together to bring the full returns. It will be seen to-day in every state where the political reform movement has obtained any strength, being worked into it the very methods that have made a reform movement necessary. Tammany methods are practiced in proportionas the power to do so is gained. It is the assertion of selfishness over principle. It has been the stumbling block to man's progress in all ages. It has been apologized for by claiming that the end justifies the means, but it is a question whether there ever was, in humanities' movements, a good end reached through ill means.

How can it be expected that a corrupt mind can be relied on to put a right political principle into practice. Has not all candidates for office in the past claimed high moral and patriotic sentiments and been elected as such, and have they not failed, as a rule, to practice it? Had not the methods practiced by them before their election something to do with their actions afterwards? Is it not, therefore, safer to seek men, and follow methods in reaching a position, to practice a reform that has the spirit of reform embodied in them, even though it takes longer to gain the position?

The possibilities of a higher social condition rests in the conscience of the masses. As it is for their benefit practical reforms are advanced, it behoves them to be ever watchful to keep the movement clean as it progresses, or it is in danger of being as filthy and incapable of reforming in time as anything that has existed in the way of political organizations in the past. Let them resist hard the introduction of corrupt methods in the building of that which they hope so much from. Let them see to it that it profits no man anything who attempts its use in the elevation of himself. A right conscience will develop right methods; right methods will bring right results. It is the only way real reform will come.

THE EFFECTS OF GOOD MANAGEMENT.

In spite of economic conditions that make a labor question and often create strained and hostile relations between corporations and their employes, there often is and always should be pride taken by all parties connected with

any industry, to see it leading others in the same line of business. It creates a spirit that often leads to relieving bad economic conditions or the relations that bad economic conditions often create between employes on the one side, and the managers of an industry on the other.

During the past ten years the employes of the Union Pacific system, in the mechanical department, have had practical experience to demonstrate the truth of such a position. When the affairs of that department were badly managed, lacking system in every branch, they have always had the worst trouble with the management in the way of grievances, both as to rights and pay, and the improvements in this line have always been in proportion to improvements in systemizing the work. We predicted in these pages such would result when Mr. McConnell took general charge of the mechanical department of the Union Pacific, if he would follow up what he had demonstrated he was capable of doing in a less important position.

No one familiar with the mechanical department of the system for the past twelve years but who can testify to improved results during the last four years, and a more satisfactory condition for the employes as compared to other systems, or the same system in former years. General business depression has brought about other effects that all are suffering under, which, however, are not to be considered in the matters we refer to.

The fact that the system is leading others in engine service; that locomotives that lead the world in efficiency were planned and built in the shops of this system; that the system is maintaining a faster and better equipped train service than any competing lines, is a matter of satisfaction to all men who are engaged in any way in producing such results. It matters not in what line of work one is engaged, greatest satisfaction comes with the best results; nor can results thus obtained be in opposition to any good sought in other directions.

When the relations between all parties engaged in any industry or work that mankind demands are properly adjusted, the sole thought of all parties thus related will be to get the best results with the least exertion. Progress in all branches will be aided by the push that the spirit to excel gives.

OUR SOCIAL DISEASE.

The fear of starving or becoming a pauper in a country where there is an abundance for all, is proof of the imperfect nature of our government.

Discontent is growing, and society is getting more and more restive beneath the injustice and inhumanity of social inequality caused by corrupt legislation for many years past; and this in a country where government first came to mean the establishment of justice between man and man, and the securing to each man and woman the right to life,

liberty and happiness. This in a country where a king was considered a tyrant and robber! Our government to-day is a counterfeit of what the declaration of independence intended it should be, and under the old partisan rule it has gradually been debased until society is sick, and needs to be cured of a social disease that is eating away its own vitality.

Our people to-day are on the tip-toe of expectation for a better solution of the wrongs and injustice they have been subjected to since partisans have taken the place of statesmen, since the elligibility to the highest office has been decided by dollars, and money has been enthroned in power to disposess the people of the fruits of toil. Since party lines are drawn on unimportant issues to keep the people divided on subjects of no concern to the masses, the time for reason is at hand; intellect must once more assume command, while we have yet within our hands the weapon purchased by the life-blood of innumerable patriots, with which to exercise our right to maintain liberty and secure the welfare of those who are dependent on us, as well as for coming generations.

To win this victory we must concentrate our forces so as to make our power felt even at the risk of being called "anarchists." We must do this even though we cherish the hope that there will be no anarchy. Our ideas and motives are valueless unless we set them to work. We are not revolutionists. We know that there is a great contrast between what is and what ought to be, but we do not with one bound intend to cross the gulf. We are content to see the problem solved by the gentle process of evolution, because we know that anything which springs up like Jonah's gourd in one night may as speedily wither away; and, Jonah-like, we would growl because our prophecies were not fulfilled. We are like the anarchist in one thing, and that is, we fear not the ignominious epithets that may be heaped upon us by lying journalists and editors of the average old partisan paper. We know that no reform has ever succeeded in contending against the wrongs that have oppressed the people until the reformers accepted the most abusive words of their enemies as titles of honor. We are willing to bear unjustly any reproach that the enemy has in store for us, for the more our principles are laughed to scorn the stronger they will grow. The anarchist with his revolutionary thought and visionary dreams will, in time, be considered less dangerous to society than journalistic falsifiers or lying editors. What is anarchy? The philosophical anarchist believes that within the limit of liberty every man should be his own law-giver. "Government," he says, "is force," and he who is forced to obey the law established by government is, morally speaking, not a good man, any more than is the thief good and moral who will not steal while a policeman watches over him with club in hand. Such morality would be removed with the policeman's club. He believes that law, or government, especially when bad, like some poisons when taken into the human system, change the nature of the medium into which it is introduced. The true anarchist needs no law to govern him; that there are bad anarchists is no more a fault of his than it is a fault of Christ that there are bad christians. He has come to reform, not destroy, society, and in this country we still have the blessed privilege of accepting or rejecting them.

If all were true anarchists government would be a curse, and the maintaining of t an unnecessary burden.

Just think what kind of a world this would be if all men and women would adopt the golden rule to guide them—"do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." This is the anarchist's dream. It is only where someone refuses to be governed by this rule that law or government becomes necessary. And it is only in a depraved condition of society that bad government will meet with general approval.

It should be a necessary habit of thought to regard the state as a moral being, possessed of a will, a conscience, and a moral responsibility. Such a state would do no injustice to a part of society. Until labor and capital are placed on equal terms our old party statesmen (?) who have held the reins of government these many years must be asked to hold their tongues when speaking about what they have done for us. The power to make laws must be wrested from those who have been scientifically educated to deceive the people.

All the advantages of the concentration of our forces must be used to hasten the abolition of systems whose claims mean a revolt against modern civilization. To submit to them we must be slaves. Their death is predestined, for to-day reason is undermining every throne and commanding emperors, kings and queens to lay aside their crowns. It is sapping the foundation of sectarian walls, and thundering in tones of authority before the castles of the Carnegie's, Fricks, Pullmans, Wicks and every aristocrat who lives on the unpaid labor of his fellowman. H. BRUTTENSTEIN.

District Department.

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The delegates to the district session this month will have hotel accommodations at the Inter-Ocean hotel, corner Sixteenth and Blake streets. This hotel has been refitted and is now in charge of George Stein, who formally was the host at the Lindell hotel, where the headquarters have been in years past. Few men are better known to the railroad men of the west than Mr. Stein. To be under his care while in Denver means the best to be had.

The shops of the Union Pacific, from Cheyenne west, that were closed at the time of the strike in July, have not as yet been restored to their former activity —the large plant at Cheyenne remaining practically idle. It is reported that some of the citizens of Cheyenne are circulating a paper among workmen in which they sign to agree to work for a reduction in present schedule of wages if the shops will be put into full operation. The citizens of Cheyenne ought to first agree that the cost of living, rents, etc., in Cheyenne will be reduced to an equality with cities that they seek to reduce wages to an equality with, before wages are reduced. The merchant and landlord generally estimate that enough will be earned to pay their bills, and that is all they care about. The average man likes to work for something more than his board and clothes.

The fact of the use of compressed air for braking railway trains is generally known by the public, but the numerous other ways that it is used is not generally known. On the Union Pacific system its use is being rapidly extended to many other branches of the service. A small engine operated by air is being placed on all locomotives to ring the bell. Compressed air is distributed through the shops for the operation of hoists in moving heavy machinery and the operation of tools that are most often operated by hand. A hose connected with a reservoir of compressed air is taken into a car and with the air blast every particle of dust is blown out, and without the wear and tear of whipping and brushing the upholstery. The use of compressed air in mechanical lines adds to the health and comfort of workmen over the use of steam or electricity as a power, and with less danger from its use.

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Do not wait until the last moment to write up your monthly letter. Send it in at any time; the sooner after you read this the better. The first opportunity you have is the best time.

ARMSTRONG, Kas., October 1, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

For the past month we had variable weather, with sunshine, rain and frost sandwiched.

Nos. 1 and 2 Denver passenger trains were not abandoned as contemplated by the company last month, which I made mention of in my last letter. But there is several changes made this month in the passenger service, all of which is noted in the daily newspapers coming directly from the officials of the road.

The Union Pacific rolling stock is kept in better repair, particularly her engines, than any road centering at this point. The roadbed in the switching yards is kept in good order, and all things connected with them are congruously the same. The company from time to time is taking out short curves in the roadbed, and lessening high grades as opportunity offers. The general government may rest assured that the present owners of tne road are doing all they can, consistent with the times, in taking care of the roadbed and all of its appurtenances. The plant to-day is worth a great deal more money to anyone than when turned over from the government to those in charge at that time. There is a great many workingmen in the employ of the present company who would like to see the government foreclose its mortgage when due and take hold of the property and operate it in the interest of the government and the people. A great number of them think they would have better pay and steadier work.

Such would not be the case, under

changeable administrations. It might work all right under a strong, stable, central government such as the people have in Europe—autocratic, where the Scions of a Morganistic marriage will get the first gifts. In America the spoils belong to the victors. I am in favor of states' rights, and keeping the federal authority within the bounds of the constitution. It was violated in the recent economic disturbances. I mean the American Railway Union strike. Troops of the United States were sent into several states without being called for by the governors of said commonwealths, and under Democratic rule—a party in the past that was so jealous of federal authority. If the Republican party dared to commit themselves to such an infringement, in days gone by, on the constitution, the Democratic press of the country would howl with rage, and would use all kinds of vile epithets against the doctrine of violating state rights. Both the Democratic clubs and party of the country sanctioned President Cleveland's course. It is his death knell.

Business on the road is normal, likewise in the shops.

Labor day was celebrated with pomp and glory. The shops were closed.

We are still working forty hours a week; the Missouri Pacific and Fort Scott the same.

Employment for mechanics or laborers here is scarce. Would not advise any man looking for work to come this way, as there are ten men looking for the one job.

The sixth and last new engine left the shops September 1 built here in the last few years. All of them were built by James Roberts. They were all first-class moguls. A halt is called in that direction at present.

Michael Sexton, an old-time watchman at the Armstrong shops, but lately out of the employ of the company, died on August 19.

Dr. Hill, at one time assistant surgeon and physician of the company here, died at St. Margaret's hospital during the month of August.

John Volk, foreman of the blacksmith shop here, died on September 2, after a lingering illness covering a period of eight months, through a surgical operation performed by the company's most emiment surgeon and physician, Dr. J. W. Perkins, of Kansas City, Mo. The operation was a success, but he was too old and feeble to stand the ordeal. He was not liked by his acquaintances and his death will not be mourned.

John P. Stack succeeds him as foreman of the shop. He is a man eminently qualified for the position and is giving good satisfaction both to the company and men under his immediate charge so far.

Charles Gloyne will represent the assembly as delegate to the district meeting to be held at Denver October 22. He is a painter by occupation and a man of sterling qualities.

AU BOUT DE SON.

DENVER, Colo., October 11, 1894.

Editor Magazine:

Business is reported as fairly good on the railroads running into Denver, but as yet there has been no effoct of it seen in the shops. There is considerable repair work accumulating which will have to be done sometime.

Rumors float around yet that the gulf receivers are to have control of the shops at this point, but that is as far as it has developed yet.

Our assemby is holding two open meetings a month now, and the political issues of the day are the topics for discussion. Speakers of all political faiths are favoring us with their views. The workingman in politics bids fair to prove a reality this fall. It may mean the dawning of a brighter day. XX.

The distress in many parts of Nebraska and Kansas on account of failure of crops, is already severe. What it will be before spring can only be imagined. If farmers had not in years past been feeding all their surplus products to a mortgage whose appetite never grows less, a failure of a crop would have no serious effect. Steps to prevent mortgages would be of more benefit to farmers and producers generally, than steps to exterminate the Russian thistle, or the diseases of domestic animals.

The man who accepts a benefit which the efforts of others have secured, and refuses to afterwards aid in maintaining that which secured such benefits, is as contemptible as the worst mendicant the world has produced.

If your subscription to THE MAGAZINE is unpaid, remember that you are specially invited to pay up.

"Here lies old thirty-five per cent,
The more he made the more he lent;
The more he got the more he craved,
The more he made the more he shaved.
Good God! can such a soul be saved?"

year, which terminates November 30, 1894.

SEC. 2. Each elector voting at said election, and desirous of voting for or against the amendment, shall deposit in the ballot box a ticket whereon shall be printed or written the words "For the amendment," or the words "Against the amendment."

SEC. 8. The votes cast for the adoption or rejection of said amendment shall be canvassed and the result determined in the manner prescribed by the laws of the state for the canvass of votes for representatives in congress.

Approved April 8, 1893.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the state of Colorado, at the city of Denver, this sixth day of August, A. D. 1894. NELSON O. MCCLEES,

(SEAL) Secretary of State.

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